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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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29 August 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## GDR ACHIEVEMENTS IN POST-CSCE DECADE ENUMERATED

East Berlin IPW BERICHTe in German Vol 14 No 7, Jul 85 pp 58-61

[Article by Joachim Rutsch and Siegfried Ullrich: "Results After Ten Years of the CSCE Final Act"]

[Text] Ten years ago, on 1 August 1975, the heads of state and government of 35 countries signed the final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries had worked for such an international document for several decades. It was supposed on the one hand to multilaterally acknowledge the political-regional realities which had arisen in the aftermath of World War II and postwar developments. On the other hand this document was to establish the principles for the organizations of peaceful and good neighborly relations among countries with different social systems on this continent. Let us recall the 1954 Soviet proposal for holding a conference on issues of European security and the Bucharest declaration on the strengthening of peace and security in Europe, adopted by the Warsaw Pact members in July 1966.

These and other initiatives aroused an increasingly positive echo in the ruling circles of imperialist countries. Joseph Grimond, for example, a respected parliamentarian of the British Liberal Party, said: "The Bucharest Declaration must be most carefully studied and considered the beginning of a dialogue." (1)

Such reactions and, finally, the readiness of leading representatives of imperialist states to enter into all-European negotiations which got going the process of detente and provided it with a foundation, based on the changes in the international balance of strength in favor of socialism--including the achievement of military-strategic parity--, on the growing attraction of the socialist community's active peace policy, the commitment of the peace loving forces all over Europe and the process of rethinking thereby initiated, which caused the ruling circles of the capitalist countries to perceive that there was no alternative to peaceful coexistence.

Nevertheless, the militant and aggressive forces which, since the early 1980's, are once more deciding policy in several capitalist signatory states of the Helsinki final act, opposed this document and detente from the very outset. This opposition included attempts to belittle, conceal or discredit

the results achieved in the course of the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] process. We therefore intend in the following, by means of some selected examples, to demonstrate the benefits so far recorded as a result of detente for the peoples of Europe, to show how security was strengthened and cooperation in various spheres raised to a higher level.

#### Strengthening the UN Role in the Preservation of Peace

Upon signing the final act of Helsinki, the CSCE participants assumed the obligation of "fully and actively supporting the United Nations and contributing to the strengthening of its role and efficacy in the consolidation of international peace." (2) The socialist countries have supplied many initiatives within the UN. for the realization of this obligation and, in collaboration with other countries (specially the nonaligned states), endeavored to ensure that the peoples' world forum should more and more satisfactorily respond to its basic assignment--to serve world peace and understanding among the peoples.

When we consider just the two latest plenary meetings of the UN Assembly, we may note the following: Nineteen of the 45 resolutions submitted to the vote during the 38th UN General Assembly Meeting originated with the socialist countries. Sixteen were adopted and, generally, exerted a significant influence on the course and the results of this meeting. The USSR, for instance, submitted a declaration on condemning nuclear war, a resolution on freezing nuclear weapons and a proposal on various measures to prevent an arms race in space. The GDR, too, took the initiative with respect to five resolutions in the field of disarmament and arms limitation; it also acted as co-author of another seventeen such resolutions. They included the resolution, initiated together with Cuba, on the nonuse of nuclear arms and the prevention of nuclear war as well as the resolutions on a ban on neutron weapons and on chemical and bacteriological weapons. (3)

This constructive policy also governed the work of the socialist states at the 1984 UN General Assembly. Of particular importance was the resolution, submitted by the USSR, for the prevention of state terrorism. In view of the excessive U.S. efforts to militarize space, the Soviet Union, China, Egypt and Sri Lanka combined in a common project the resolutions they had prepared relative to this problem. The United States was the only state to refuse its agreement. (4) U.S. behavior with regard to other votes also exemplifies that it is in conflict with the peoples' wish for peace. In the course of the 39th UN General Assembly, for example, the United States rejected 19 of the 20 most important disarmament resolutions--including such urgent demands as a ban on the first use of nuclear arms, the outlawing of chemical weapons and a ban on new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Only once--with regard to the call for a ban on space armament--did it abstain. (5)

In addition, ever since the Reagan Administration took office, the United States considerably increased its direct attacks on the United Nations and some of its special organizations.

In her capacity as U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Jeanne Kirkpatrick (obviously twisting the facts of the matter) reproached the world organization that it "was doing little to promote international peace...Proceedings in the United Nations in fact frequently stir up conflicts instead of contributing to their settlement." Kirkpatrick also expressed her hope of blackmailing other states into accepting U.S.American conceptions of UN policy: "We said that we would largely withdraw from the organization and take with us that which is ours. The thought that the United States might desert the United Nations, is indeed food for thought for many small countries..."(6)

The U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO represents the climax so far of its defiance and threats vis-a-vis the world organization. According to the statements of a senior U.S.American UN diplomat, this was at one and the same time a "warning shot and shock" directed against the UN as a whole.(7) Still, it is significant--and visible in the results of votes--that the United States is increasingly isolated in the United Nations by this very policy.

#### Successful and Constructive Political Cooperation

"Sustained by the political wish in the interest of the peoples to improve and strengthen their relations, to contribute in Europe to peace, security, justice and cooperation as well as to rapprochement between them and the other countries of the world," the Helsinki CSCE final act signatories proclaimed their intention "(to) develop their cooperation among themselves and with all states in all spheres, in conformity with the objectives and principles of the United Nations Charter...They will also endeavor in the course of their cooperation to improve the prosperity of the peoples and contribute to the fulfillment of their wishes, among others by the benefits arising from greater mutual knowledge as well as the advances and performances in the economic, scientific, technical, social, cultural and humanitarian field....As described above, they will strive by the consolidation of their cooperation to develop closer relations among themselves on an improved and more permanent basis for the benefit of the peoples."(8)

In a letter to Rene Peyre, president of the French Federation of Resistance Fighters and War Victims, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR Council of State, emphasized: "Immediately after the Helsinki Conference, the GDR took the initiative vis-a-vis most Western participants and submitted concrete and comprehensive proposals for the expansion of bilateral relations."(9) This constructive approach to the implementation of the CSCE final act has so far resulted in 270 treaties, agreements and conventions between the GDR and more than 20 capitalist participant states. They encompass all sections of the final act.

Even at the time of the 1975 Helsinki Conference, Erich Honecker met with the heads of state and government of Belgium, Denmark, the FRG, Finland, Canada, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States of America and Cyprus, and with the head of the Vatican delegation, all of whom were present in Helsinki.

Following the CSCE, the following were guests of the GDR: In September 1977, Finnish President Urho Kekkonen; in March/April 1978, Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky; in June 1980, President Spyros Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus; in December 1981, FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt; in October 1983, Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger of Austria; in January/February 1984, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau; in February 1984, Maltese President Agatha Barbara; in June 1984, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme; in July 1984, Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu; and in November 1984, Austrian Federal Chancellor Fred Sinowatz. For his part, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, officially visited Austria (November 1980), Cyprus (October 1982), Finland (October 1984), Italy (April 1985) and the Vatican (April 1985).

GDR political contacts also increased with the capitalist participants at the CSCE, in the course of official visits by Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer to Sweden (November 1975, May 1981), France (January 1976, November 1981, December 1983), Norway (July 1976, March 1985), Great Britain (September 1976), Finland (October 1976), the Netherlands (January 1977, July 1984), Belgium (May 1978, November 1982), Luxembourg (May 1978), the United States (June 1978), Italy (October 1978), Austria (January 1980, April 1984), Cyprus (January 1980), Iceland (August 1980), Switzerland (November 1980), Denmark (January 1981, April 1985), Greece (July 1982), Spain (January 1984), Canada (June 1984) and Portugal (April 1985). The same purpose was served by official meetings in the GDR with the foreign ministers of Belgium (March 1976, September 1979, December 1984), Austria (August 1976, October 1979, August 1982), Denmark (October 1976, August 1983), Sweden (September 1977, October 1983), Cyprus (July 1978), Iceland (May 1979), France (July 1979, January 1984), the Netherlands (September 1979), Greece (May 1981), Finland (October 1981), Luxembourg (October 1981), Italy (January 1983), Norway (November 1983) and Great Britain (April 1985).

In the field of political cooperation, the GDR has so far concluded 33 treaties/agreements since the Helsinki Conference, involving 10 participant capitalist countries and including consular agreements with Finland, the U.S.A., Belgium, Great Britain, France, Greece, Cyprus, Austria and Italy; legal aid treaties with Great Britain, Greece, Austria, Italy and Belgium; working agreements between the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the foreign ministries of Belgium, Finland, Norway, Cyprus and Austria as well as a GDR/FRG government protocol on border marking.

Significant impetus for the development of bilateral relations and, consequently, the improvement of the political climate in Europe, was generated by the meetings at the highest level, listed above, and also by the expansion of contractual relations in the field of political cooperation, constructively pursued by the GDR. Similar examples may be cited with respect to the other socialist participants at the CSCE.

## Cooperation in Economy, Science and Technological as Well as Environmental Control

In conformity with the Helsinki final act, the signatory states intend "to encourage the steady growth of trade..., adopt measures to further improve the terms for the expansion of contacts between the representatives of official agencies, the various organizations, enterprises, companies and banks involved in foreign trade..., promote the development of industrial cooperation between the respective organizations, enterprises and companies in their countries..., adopt measures to further improve scientific and technical cooperation among them." (10) As for environmental control, the document notes: "Reaffirming that the control and improvement of the environment as well as the protection of nature and the rational use of its resources represent a highly significant task in the interest of present and future generations, the prosperity of the peoples and the economic development of all countries..., the participating states will observe every suitable opportunity for cooperating in environmental affairs..." (11)

The GDR is making strenuous efforts by means of greater cooperation in the fields listed to further expand the material basis of detente. This is reflected in 159 treaties and agreements in these fields as well as those of transportation and mail/telecommunications, concluded since 1 January 1975 with participating capitalist countries.

To be specially noted in the sectors industry, business and technology, are agreements on economic, industrial and technical cooperation with Sweden, Norway, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Cyprus and France, an agreement on scientific, industrial and technical cooperation with Spain as well as on scientific-technical cooperation with France, Austria, Greece, Italy and Spain.

A GDR-British government agreement settles the principles for the work with standards in scientific-technical and economic cooperation. Long-range programs relating to the organization of economic, industrial and technical relations between the GDR and France were concluded for 1980-1985 and 1985-1990. Another agreement between these two countries provides for the purchase of complete plants and equipment in the amount of frs 12 billion from French enterprises in the period 1980-1985, in particular for the metallurgical and chemical industries, machine construction, and the electrical engineering/electronics industry. Cooperation with Austria was contractually established in the field of science and technology with regard to agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, and a government agreement between the GDR and the FRG settles the border crossing mining of lignite, potash and natural gas.

Since 1975, the GDR has concluded long-term trade agreements with France, Switzerland, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, Turkey, Canada and Cyprus. A working program between the foreign trade ministries of the GDR and the United States is devoted to the development of trade between the two countries. A long-term trade and payment agreement links the GDR and Austria.

GDR cooperation on third markets with France, Sweden and Austria proceeds in accordance with government agreements. Other agreements have been concluded on the establishment of syndicates with major factories, firms and corporations in participating capitalist countries. Government agreements on the grant of most favored nation treatment are contributing largely to the development of trade with Finland, Portugal and Spain.

Among the treaties, agreements and working programs in the transportation sectors, special mention is rated by those on international road traffic with Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain, Finland, Sweden, Greece and Luxembourg; on cooperation in aviation with Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium, Turkey, Switzerland, Norway, Italy, Sweden and Austria. Since 1975, the GDR has concluded shipping treaties with Belgium/Luxembourg, Finland, Cyprus, Turkey and Greece.

In the field of environmental control and water management, one agreement concluded joins the GDR and Sweden. Government agreements with the FRG in this field relate to antipollution efforts at the GDR/FRG national borders, the establishment of a flood control barrage on the Itz River (GDR/FRG border), the provision of water for FRG cities from the Eckertal Reservoir which is in part located on GDR territory, the operation, supervision and maintenance of the Duderstadt drinking water reservoirs located on GDR territory and the regulation of sewage transports from Thuringia to Upper Franconia.

In the field of posts and telecommunication, cooperation proceeds on the basis of agreements with, respectively, Sweden, the FRG, Austria, Italy and Finland.

#### Upswing in Economic Relations

Other CSCE participants concluded similar agreements. They contributed to an exceptionally lively revival of economic relations between East and West. It is specially important to note that long-range economic treaties were concluded between signatories of the Helsinki final act, some with terms of several decades. Despite vehement objections from the United States, for example, the natural gas-pipe treaty managed to be concluded between the Soviet Union, the FRG, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland.

Following 1975, the foreign trade turnover of the European CEMA member countries with capitalist industrial countries developed at a fast pace. Trade between West European countries with the CEMA states grew from U.S.\$11.5 billion (1970) to \$78.5 billion (1980). At 26 percent, the FRG holds the largest share. As a result it has not only assured a considerable part of its energy requirements--for example some 16 percent of its natural gas needs, 65 percent of its oil and 36 percent coal imports--,(12) it is also, by means of orders from the Soviet Union, safeguarding the jobs of around 50,000 workers. Some 2,000 FRG firms are involved in economic relations with the Soviet Union.(13)

Though the development of economic relations proceeded satisfactorily especially in the 1970's, stagnation and some reverses supervened in the early



1980's. The cause are actions directed against the development of cooperation agreed in Helsinki. Capitalist countries continue to obstruct fruitful economic contacts. More restrictions have been added in recent years to those in place for the longest time (for instance export and import controls, high import duties, volume and value restrictions by quotas imposed on deliveries from socialist countries, EC preferential regulations which basically exclude the CEMA countries. Also included are embargoes initiated by the United States, calls for "voluntary" export restrictions, so-called antidumping proceedings against exporters from CEMA countries (though, due to their evident lack of justification, the latter had to be lifted by their very authors), as well as technical barriers hindering trade. The so-called Cocom lists--banning the export of high-quality technological products to the socialist countries--were expanded and, following U.S. pressure, some export licenses either refused or withdrawn.

The representatives of the socialist countries have repeatedly demonstrated that they are earnestly endeavoring to advance economic relations with all signatories of the Helsinki final act and all interested countries--both as a factor of their own growth processes and for the encouragement of detente.

#### Development of Cultural and Informational Exchanges

In conformity with the CSCE final act, the participating countries proclaimed their intention, "in consideration of the fact that exchange and cooperation in the field of culture contribute to better understanding between individuals and peoples and thus promote lasting understanding between states...to expand and improve cooperation and relations in the cultural field on various levels."

The GDR is devoting the same attention to this section of the final act as to all others and, in the implementation of the respective recommendations, is guided by the code of principles and the bases rooted in the preamble of the third basket as well as the objectives and political substances of cooperation. "As a socialist state which affords its citizens the widest possible access to culture (its own as well as that of other peoples), excellent opportunities for education and extensive information about events at home and abroad, the GDR has always devoted much attention to international cooperation in these fields. Within the framework of peaceful coexistence, it regards this as a significant element in the strengthening of peace, understanding among the peoples and the intellectual enrichment of the human personality." (15) Consequently, the GDR followed up the CSCE by concluding treaties on cultural exchanges with Finland, Norway, France, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, Greece, Austria, the Netherlands, Italy and Iceland as well as agreements and working plans on cultural exchanges with Great Britain and Sweden. The establishment of cultural centers was agreed with France and Italy. Following a GDR/Danish government agreement, the estate of Martin Andersen Nexø was handed over to the country of his birth.

The average annual share of translations in the GDR's production of belles lettres amounts to 900 titles with a total of more than 19 million copies. This includes some 500 books by authors from Western CSCE participants (a

total of more than 9 million copies). Every seventh book published in the GDR is a translation, and so is every third novel.

In the years 1975-1984, GDR cinemas presented 422 movies from capitalist states. Among them were 67 from France, 65 from the United States, 63 from Italy, 39 from the FRG, 22 from Great Britain and 14 from Canada. Following the Helsinki Conference, the GDR steadily expanded and further developed the exchange of artists and ensembles, even with countries still lacking a cultural treaty or similar agreement with the GDR. The GDR is annually hosting some 20 orchestras, theater and ballet companies from 10-12 participating capitalist countries, as well as 200 concert soloists and singers, 60 groups, 300 soloists and artistes from the sphere of entertainment arts.

Cooperation in the spheres education and science proceeds on the basis of cultural agreements and working plans on cultural cooperation. Moreover, following the CSCE, the GDR has concluded (among others) government agreements in the educational sphere with France, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Belgium, Spain, Austria and Cyprus. The GDR furthermore succeeded in arriving at an agreement with the United States on the exchange of scientists and with Switzerland on scientific cooperation.

The GDR Academy of Sciences agreed on scientific cooperation in various fields with partner institutions in Italy, Great Britain, Finland, Sweden, the U.S.A., Denmark and France.

The GDR backs the development of the exchange of information among the signatories of the CSCE final act by, for example, treaties on cooperation between the GDR German General News Service and the news agencies ANOP (Portugal), Reuter (Great Britain), TT (Sweden), Bega (Belgium) as well as Danish and Netherlands news agencies. In addition, radio and television agreements were concluded with France, Italy, Sweden, Portugal, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, Cyprus, Austria, Finland, Belgium and Greece. There is a radio agreement with Norway.

#### Constructive GDR Contribution to the Development of Contacts

By signing the Helsinki final act, the countries participating in the CSCE proclaimed their intention of contributing to "the strengthening of peace and understanding among the peoples and to the spiritual enrichment of the human personality, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion." (16) They also stated that the development of contacts represents an important element in helping strengthen friendly relations and trust between peoples.

The GDR adopted many initiatives and measures to ensure the constructive realization of these elements of the Helsinki final act, too. Agreements in the field of health care and social welfare, for example, were concluded with Finland, Austria, Sweden, Great Britain, Chyprus, Greece, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and the FRG.



To be noted also is a rising trend with respect to travel, tourism and transit traffic to, from and through the GDR. In the average year, twice as many people travel through and to the GDR as are resident in our country. To encourage the peaceful encounter of young people from the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference, the Youth Tourist Travel Bureau of the Free German Youth concluded 47 contracts with partner organizations or corresponding institutions in 18 countries. On that basis, some 240,600 girls and boys from the GDR visited 33 countries in 1984 alone, and almost 200,000 youths from about 50 countries toured the GDR. Some 14 million native and foreign youths have participated in Youth Tourist programs since 1975.

Currently around 1.6 million GDR students in grades 7 through 12 are learning English and French as well as Russian.

With regard to the emigration of individuals for professional and personal reasons as well as to the issue of family reunion and marriage with foreign citizens, the GDR acts in complete conformity with the final act of Helsinki and consonant with other international agreements. These clearly establish that the settlement of such issues should proceed in accordance with the domestic legislation of the countries participating in the Helsinki Conference. The same applies to the new "Decree on the Settlement of Issues Relating to Family Reunions and Marriage Between Citizens of the GDR and Foreigners," which took effect on 15 October 1983. The decree takes into account the recommendations of the Madrid concluding document.(17)

\*

The facts described clearly show that, despite many obstacles placed by the foes of detente, remarkable advances have been recorded in the past 10 years on the basis of the Helsinki final act with respect to the development of political relations among the European countries, their cooperation in economics, science and technology, humanitarian concerns and cultural and informational exchanges. By their active peace policy, the socialist states--including the GDR--have vitally contributed to this success and, encouraged thereby, will continue to do everything possible, despite all attacks, to continue to pursue and with increasing stability organize the process of detente initiated in Helsinki.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cited from "Sowjetische Aussenpolitik und Europaeische Sicherheit" [Soviet Foreign Policy and European Security], Berlin 1973, p 135.
2. Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in "Fuer Entspannung und Dauerhaften Frieden. Dokumente" [For Detente and Lasting Peace. Documents], Berlin 1977, p 131.
3. See W. Erdmann, "Thirty- Eighth UN General Assembly on the Prevention of Nuclear Warfare," IPW-BERICHT, No 4/1984, pp 30ff.

4. See M. Noetzel, "Disarmament Initiatives at the 39th UN General Assembly," IPW-BERICHT, No 5/1985, pp 42ff; HORIZONT, Berlin, No 2/1985.
5. Ibid.
6. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington, 27 December 1982/3 January 1983.
7. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, Frankfurt/Main, 18 January 1984.
8. Final Act, as before, pp 129, 135f.
9. Quoted from HORIZONT, No 8/1984.
10. Final Act, as before, pp 145ff.
11. Ibid, pp 158f.
12. See "Europa - Frieden Oder Untergang?" [Europe - Peace or Doom?], Berlin 1984, pp 132ff.
13. See SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 16 April 1985.
14. Final Act, as before, pp 177f.
15. HORIZON, No 8/1984.
16. Final Act, as before, pp 168f.
17. See HORIZONT, No 8/1984.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO CARRIES ARTICLE BY CHNOUPEK ON CSCE

LD291047 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 29 Jul 85

[Article from the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO carries an article by Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, entitled "To Preserve and To Develop the Spirit of Helsinki," devoted to the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act of the all-European conference.

The article states that 1 August will be the 10th anniversary since the leading representatives of 33 European states, the United States, and Canada signed in Helsinki the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which set up a reliable base for the exclusion of aggression, strengthening of peace, and the development of fruitful cooperation on the continent. The Final Act continues to be valid, despite the fact that many people in the West would like to curtail it or consign it to the archives. Political, economic, scientific, and cultural life of the European continent has followed this document in many respects. It is impossible to imagine the further creation of peaceful relations between the states of East and West without this document.

The article emphasizes that since the very beginning Czechoslovakia has considered, and continues to do so, the Helsinki Conference and its Final Act as an event of great significance, and is carrying out all the necessary measures to make the process of all-European security and cooperation irreversible and in order to perpetuate an effective contribution of this process toward ensuring lasting peace and security of nations. Therefore, since the very beginning, we have been giving full support to the idea of recalling in an appropriate way the 10th anniversary of the conference and the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki. By doing this, we wish to stress the political significance of this important document for the preservation of peace, the improvement of relations among participating states, and the improvement of cooperation in all spheres as outlined by the Final Act. We are certain that this meeting at the level of foreign ministers will further contribute to strengthening the idea of all-European security and cooperation, that it will become an important impulse for the revival of the policy of detente, for perpetuating the multilateral process initiated by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek writes in the article that we are prepared to compete with our Western partners in the field of peaceful and creative activity. We support the development of political dialogue, and the wide development of allround, mutually advantageous contacts with these partners. In the spirit of this policy, our republic has been developing and deepening useful and mutually advantageous relations with a number of Western countries, in particular with Finland, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Cyprus, Greece, Spain, Denmark, France, as well as with the FRG, the Benelux countries, Norway, Turkey, Canada, Italy, Britain, and others.

We have consistently tackled the fulfillment of the tasks of the so-called Second Basket, concerning cooperation in the field of trade, economics, sciences and technology, and protection of the environment.

Continuing his article, Comrade Chnoupek recalls that the Madrid meeting of the signatory countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation was concluded successfully and that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe opened last year.

Czechoslovakia, together with the other states of the Warsaw Pact, is interested in the positive results of the Stockholm conference and is actively promoting such measures for strengthening confidence and security, whose adoption would truly contribute to a real lowering of the risk of military confrontation.

If the conduct of other participating states is carried out in the same constructive spirit and if these states demonstrate enough political will to achieve agreement, then there is great hope for the overall success of the Stockholm conference.

Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek then deals in his article with the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva. He stresses that at present these talks are a focal point of mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, and that they significantly determine the entire international political climate and its further development. The second round of the Geneva talks has ended. However, owing to the fault of the American side, the results were again not satisfactory. The United States so far has not presented in Geneva serious proposals for limitation of the arms race. On the contrary, their program of the so-called star wars is a barrier which complicates the talks and prevents the achievement of respective agreements. If the United States continues avoiding the tackling of issues which are to be the subject of the talks, continues dragging out the talks, and plays for time in order to implement their military programs, the Soviet Union will be forced to re-evaluate the situation which has thus arisen. The Soviet Union cannot allow these talks to be used again to mislead the public and to conceal the continuing war preparations.

Comrade Bohuslav Chnoupek also recalls in his article the importance of the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting.

The final part of his article is devoted to the constructive proposals of the socialist countries. We continue to consider the implementation of the package of initiatives contained in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries to be one of the most important steps leading to averting the threat of war and strengthening peace. Imperialism continues on its course of not wanting to accept the present world order, with the growth of potential and importance of the socialist system. The socialist countries make clear the fact that under no circumstances will they allow a violation of the military and strategic balance. This stand of the socialist countries is based on their historical experience. The awareness of military supremacy, either real or imaginary, has always been a factor stimulating the adventurous character of the foreign and military policy of the imperialist states.

It is precisely under the conditions of the present complex situation that the Czechoslovak people are again finding that it is only in sincere, fraternal friendship, in all-round cooperation and close alliance with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries united in the Warsaw Pact, that the best guarantees of their freedom, security, and successful socialist development rest, concludes Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, in his article devoted to the 10th anniversary of signing of the Final Act of the all-European conference, published in today's edition of RUDE PRAVO and the Slovak PRAVDA.

CSO: 2400/554

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# REPORTS ON CHNOUPEK SPEECH IN HELSINKI

## Prague Reports on Speech

LD311845 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 31 Jul 85

[Text] As we announced, Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, spoke today at the meeting of signatory countries of the Helsinki conference. We now bring you more details of his speech.

Bohuslav Chnoupek recalled the importance of the Helsinki conference and he stated that is formulated and anchored the main principles of relations between participating states, on the basis of recognition of the newly created European territorial and political reality. Thanks to collective efforts, ways of strengthening European security and deepening the policy of detente were set out. The conviction about the fruitlessness of policy from positions of strength and the cold war was expressed equally collectively.

Bohuslav Chnoupek stated that despite the present complicated and often even dangerous international situation, during the past decade valuable experience was gained in mutual cooperation between states in various areas within the all-European framework. Interstate documents from the period of detente, including the Final Act, have not only not lost their importance and relevance, but even today they are a factor of stability, an example of how it is possible to create constructive international relations, how to influence the development of relations in Europe founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems.

(?We) in Czechoslovakia, Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek continued, with regard to our historical experience and geographical position in the heart of Europe, have a particular interest in the development of peaceful cooperation on our continent. With all our strength and all possibilities corresponding to the potential of our country we strive for the aversion of the threat of war, nuclear in particular, the so desirable change for the better in international relations, a return to the policy of detente. The word return is, however, not quite correct in this context, for it would not be a matter of a return back, but a matter of dynamic movement

forward making use of all the reserves of this policy which is an important tool of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems for achieving the joint goal, the securing of peace. This is why our meeting should become not only a symbol of detente in general but also an impulse for its strengthening and development, progress on the path of military detente and disarmament.

In our opinion, the development of events would change considerably if significant progress were made in particular at the Soviet-American talks about space and nuclear weapons in Geneva. There is no doubt, Bohuslav Chnoupek said, that it is precisely this sphere which is a key to strengthening mutual trust. It is equally clear that the aversion of the arms race in space and a limitation of arming on earth is the central question, not only of Soviet-American relations, but an important condition for the renaissance of the process of detente.

In this context we highly praise the constructive attitudes and initiatives of the Soviet Union, in particular the new important initiative which was launched on the eve of our meeting by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We welcome and fully support the decision of the Soviet Union about the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, beginning on 6 August this year, and we appeal to the Government of the United States and to other nuclear powers, to react positively to this important step. We attach great importance to the Soviet-American meeting at highest level which is to take place in November, and we express the hope that its conclusions will contribute to lessening international tension and to creating favorable conditions for achieving tangible results in disarmament. In connection with the Ottawa meeting, we wish to emphasize once more, Bohuslav Chnoupek said, that human rights are always a concrete link between citizen's rights and political rights, and basic economic and social rights. This must be respected. He went on to point out that the exchange of cultural values has always played an important part in mutual knowledge and understanding of nations. We must, however, approach the rich cultural heritage of Europe in such a way as to bring nations closer together through it and not label them according to pseudoschematic regional divisions.

In conclusion he emphasized that it is necessary for all participating states to show in practice a decisive political will to overcome dangerous tension, to consistently fulfill the Final Act, to develop wide peaceful cooperation, to raise detente to a new level, to strengthen international security, and to strengthen peace in Europe and in the world.

As far as we are concerned, Bohuslav Chnoupek said, we consistently confirm our loyalty to this policy.

Prague TV Report

LD311855 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1630 GMT 31 Jul 85

[No video available]

[Excerpts] This afternoon the meeting of the representatives of the signatory states to the Helsinki conference was opened by the address delivered by the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek.

In assessing the fulfillment of the Final Act, Bohuslav Chnoupek said that not all hopes had materialized. This was confirmed by U.S. attempts to upset the existing strategic equilibrium and achieve military superiority, both in the sphere of nuclear and conventional weapons, and above all by the dangerous plans for the creation of a new generation of offensive systems for the so-called Star Wars. This was confirmed also by political actions encouraging revanchism and casting doubt on the results of the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences on postwar arrangements in Europe. It was illustrated also by the practices of economic sanctions, boycotts and trade embargoes, and by attempts to misuse the question of human rights and interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, Comrade Chnoupek said.

Despite that we can say that the Final Act, as an important multilateral agreement, has passed the test of time, Comrade Chnoupek said. He went on to praise highly the latest Soviet peace initiative and underlined that such steps, leading to military detente and disarmament, are the key to strengthening mutual confidence. I would like to express the hope, Comrade Chnoupek said in conclusion, that this meeting will also create an advantageous atmosphere for that. The very fact that 35 ministers of foreign affairs of the countries of Europe, the United States and Canada are meeting again, is an expression of efforts to improve the current international situation.

Chnoupek's Speech

LD311453 Helsinki International Service in English 1216 GMT 31 Jul 85

[Speech by CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek in Helsinki at the CSCE 10th Anniversary meeting; Chnoupek's speech in Russian with superimposed English translation read by announcer--live]

[Text] [Chnoupek] Esteemed comrade chairman, permit me to express the sincere thanks of the CSSR Government to our respected hosts, first and foremost to Mauno Koivisto, president of the Finnish Republic, the Finnish Government and Paavo Vayrynen, the minister of foreign affairs, for everything they have done to assist the successful conduct of this meeting.



Ten years ago the name of the Finnish capital, Helsinki, became a synonym for the conference of security and cooperation in Europe, a synonym of new trends in the development of the continent, both a cradle of ancient culture and also a place where the sword of Mars has often been raised. Symbolic in the highest degree were the words in the Finlandia Palace....

[Announcer] The foreign minister of Czechoslovakia began with thanks to the Finnish hosts for the organization of this meeting, and he noted that 10 years ago Helsinki became synonymous with the CSCE by providing new trends in the development of the continent, which he described both as a cradle of an old culture as well as a place where the sword of Mars has been brandished repeatedly.

[Chnoupek] I would like to recall that at that time, in the mid-seventies, we set ourselves a difficult task: to ensure conditions for a lasting and stable peace, and to create such a system of political relations that would enable the peoples of Europe to look ahead not only for a few months or a few years, but to look ahead for a whole long, historic stage of development.

[Announcer] Revealing the events of 10 years ago, the 1975 Helsinki summit, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said that at that time these nations set for themselves an ambitious goal: that to secure conditions for solid, lasting peace, to create a system of political relations which would enable the European nations to look forward not merely a few months or a few years in its future, but for a whole period of historical development. He quoted the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustav Husak, as saying that in the conditions of the nuclear age there is, in the mutual relations among states no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence.

[Chnoupek] When we sum up the results of the decade which has just passed, then we should bear in mind what we inherited, and on what are based the forecasts [words indistinct]. We saw and see today the main significance of the conference first and foremost in that it formulated and consolidated the basic principles which emerged in the territorial and political realities of Europe. Thanks to collective efforts, we mapped out ways toward strengthening European security on the basis of recognition of the territorial and political reality established in Europe.

[Chnoupek] ...and the significance of this factor is steadily growing. We also advocated the broadest, mutual exchange of cultural values, for an exchange of (?ideas) [words indistinct] which serve mutual understanding and the all-round development of mankind. We also advocated the development of contacts between people, which would facilitate a businesslike, all-round advantageous and useful cooperation and mutual knowledge.

[Announcer] And looking back to 1975, he said that Czechoslovakia put emphasis then on mutually advantageous economic cooperation among states with different social systems as a stabilizing factor of peaceful relations, and he said the significance of this is continuously growing. He said that

at that time Czechoslovakia also spoke out in favor of the broadest possible mutual inspiration through cultural exchange, the exchange of ideas and information [words indistinct]. He also spoke in favor of a broad exchange of persons that would facilitate practical and in every respect useful and beneficial cooperation and better knowledge of each other.

[Chnoupek] ...be filled with fresh and constructive content. The facts show that in the search for ways to strengthen the European process, a number of countries have repeatedly manifested good will, especially in so important a sphere as the establishment and development of political dialogue. The number of treaties between states has increased. Economic cooperation has expanded, and in particular the trade turnover between the West European countries and the European CEMA countries has almost doubled. Contacts in the sphere of science, technology and conservation of the environment have been revitalized. Cooperation in humanitarian and other spheres has also been expanded and developed. In brief, cooperation serving the interests of all participating states has been deepened.

[Announcer] The Czechoslovak foreign minister listed a number of areas in which there have been expansion of cooperation, what he referred to as a mushrooming of a broad network of international treaties. (?There was) an expansion of economic cooperation, particularly trade between West European countries and the European CEMA member states, which has almost doubled. Similarly, contacts in science and technology, as well as environmental protection, [words indistinct] contacts in the humanitarian and other fields. He said in a word, there was an expansion of cooperation which served the interests of all the participating states.

[Chnoupek] The development of new and ever more modern systems of conventional weapons, close in their destructive force to weapons of mass annihilation....

[Announcer] He said that, however, not all hopes have been fulfilled. Not everyone has shown the necessary political will. Many an achievement of detente withered under the icy gust of attempts to dismantle it. He said that this is attested to by the efforts to upset the existing strategic stability, and to gain military superiority. He noted as evidence the stepped-up, feverish armament, the step up in armaments, the continuing deployment of new American first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe, and the development of completely new, highly sophisticated weapons of mass destruction, as well as dangerous plans for the creation of a new generation of weapons designed for so-called star wars.

[Chnoupek] ...Interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and confrontation which, in turn, may create a danger to man's main right: the right to life in conditions of peace.

[Announcer] He also noted that in areas where the final document, the Helsinki CSCE has not been implemented is the implied political actions [as heard], including the questioning of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences in the postwar settlement of Europe, and he said that this has also been manifested by practices of economic sanctions, boycotts and trade embargos, attempts to misuse the question of human rights and freedoms for interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and for confrontation which, he said, in the final consequence may pose a threat to the basic human right which he described as the right to life in peace.

[Chnoupek] ...all kinds of lessons for the future. The 10 years that have passed have confirmed the deep interest of the European peoples in the continuation of detente, in the development of relations of goodneighborliness and cooperation. Despite the existing complicated and at times even dangerous international situation, a valuable experience of cooperation among states in various areas has been acquired in Europe as a whole in the last 10 years. The interstate documents of the period of relaxation of tension and the CSCE Final Act have lost none of their forcefulness and topicality. In the present time, too, they are a factor for stability and an example of how constructive international relations may be built, how an influence can be brought to bear upon the development of relations in Europe, based on the principles of peaceful....

[Announcer] [Words indistinct] to satisfy the existing complicated and often dangerous international situation. Valuable experience has been gained in the all-European framework in the last decade from mutual cooperation of states in the most various fields. The interstate documents from the period of detente, including the Final Act, not only have not lost any of their force and timeliness, but even today represent a factor of stability. He said they were an example of the way in which it is possible to shape constructive international relations to influence the development of relations in Europe, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

[Chnoupek] In every way, and in conformity with the opportunities afforded us by our country's potential, we strive to avert the threat of war, nuclear war first and foremost, for achieving a turn for the better in international affairs, a turn that is so desirable, for a return of the policy of detente. Incidentally, the expression "return" is [words indistinct] since the point ought not to be to return to the past, but to move dynamically forward, to make use of the whole potential of this policy which is an important instrument of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, to achieve the common goal: the securing of peace.

[Announcer] The Czechoslovak foreign minister said that to speak of a return to detente was [word indistinct] quite precise in the context of this meeting and that indeed it would not be a question of returning back but moving dynamically forward, making use of all the reserves of this policy which represents an important instrument of peaceful coexistence of states having different social systems, to achieve a common goal: safeguarding of peace.

[Chnoupek] Substantial progress has been reached there. There is no doubt that it is precisely this....

[Announcer] [Word indistinct] to say that this reason, this meeting should not only be a symbol of detente in general terms but also impetus for its consolidation and development, progress on the way to military detente and disarmament. He said that [words indistinct] undergo a radical change if substantial progress were achieved in particular in the Soviet-American talks on space and nuclear weapons.

[Chnoupek] ...and approach and proposals of the Soviet Union, especially the new, major initiative, put forward on the eve of our meeting by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. We welcome and support fully the decision on the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests from 6 August.

[Announcer] In the context of great powers talks on limiting of strategic arms the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia says that his country welcomes and fully supports the decision of the USSR announced recently on the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests from 6 August of this year, and he called on the United States Administration and other nuclear powers to respond positively to this [word indistinct] step.

[Chnoupek] ...that its results will assist the relaxation of international tension, the creation of favorable condition for the achievement of [word indistinct] results in the sphere of disarmament. Esteemed comrade Chairman!

[Announcer] The Czechoslovak foreign minister also said that his country attaches a great importance to the Soviet-American summit meeting to be held in November, and he expressed the hope that its results would contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the creation of favourable conditions for the attainment of tangible results in the field of disarmament.

[Chnoupek] ...organic complex of measures of military-political and military-technical character. They would mean real strengthening of trust and security in Europe.

[Announcer] About the Stockholm disarmament conference the Czechoslovak foreign minister said that the elaboration and adoption, what he called organic set of measures of military-political and military-technical nature, could bring Europe to an agreement, which would, he said, represent a fundamental strengthening of confidence and security in Europe.

[Chnoupek] ...socialist countries have come forward with initiatives which aim namely at this.

[Announcer] [Word indistinct] improvement in the international climate could be facilitated if the participants in the conference, notably the NATO states would consider without prejudice the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the Warsaw Pact countries [words indistinct] for the mutual nonuse of military force [word indistinct] maintenance of peaceful relations, because the Ottawa meeting, the meeting on human rights, the Czechoslovak foreign minister said--he in fact emphasized once again that human rights, (?the combination) of civil and political rights, with the fundamental economic and social rights--these he said must be restressed. [Sentence as heard]

[Chnoupek] The rich heritage of Europe has to be approached in such a way that through it, all European countries came together [words indistinct]. Comrade chairman, the rich experience which has been accumulated since the Helsinki conference, the Belgrade, the Madrid conferences has to be [word indistinct] in the forthcoming meeting in Vienna, in the capital of our southern neighbors.

[Announcer] [Words indistinct] the valuable experience gained since the Helsinki conference, and at Belgrade and Madrid meetings should be put at an appropriate use at the followup meeting in Vienna. He said it should facilitate a full and more dynamic development of the CSCE process.

[Chnoupek] [Words indistinct] all countries participating in the European process have in practice displayed determined political will to overcome dangerous (?tension) in the world, for consistent implementation of the Final Act, the development of [word indistinct] peaceful cooperation, the (?progress) of detente on to a new level and the strengthening of international security and peace in Europe and worldwide.

As for us, Czechoslovakia, we emphatically affirm our adherence to this policy. Thank you for your attention.

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RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL ON SOVIET MORATORIUM

AU021139 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jul 85 p 1

[Editorial: "A New Soviet Peace Initiative"]

[Text] The USSR has decided--effective 6 August 1985--to unilaterally halt all nuclear explosions. The moratorium is valid until 1 January 1986, but it will continue to remain in force should the United States also forego nuclear explosions. These words from the declaration by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday flew around the world and attracted the attention of governments and the public. It is a far reaching initiative which harbors hope for all nations, for our entire planet. It is an extraordinarily constructive and significant deed precisely in the present complicated and dangerously aggravated situation, when not only further nuclear weapons are being stockpiled, but--at the same time--new weapons systems are being developed and the arms buildup even threatens outer space.

Taking upon itself the unilateral pledge to halt all nuclear explosions at a time of an intensified U.S. armament effort is not an easy and simple decision for the Soviet Union. The Pentagon's plans for "Star Wars," the introduction of new missile weapons, the continuing deployment of American first-strike weapons in western Europe, as well as the American pressure on its allies in NATO and outside the pact to arm more--the Soviet Union must bear all this in mind in making any decision about its own unilateral restrictions. And yet it has decided to restrict itself. The reason is the principled standpoint on the issue of war and peace, the peace-loving essence of Soviet foreign policy, from which arises the patient and long-term effort to achieve concrete steps to halt the continuing arms buildup and reduce the stockpiles of weapons in the world. Halting the arms buildup, namely, presumes, among other things, the creation of an atmosphere of trust among states with different social systems, and the manifestation of good-will in the political and the military sphere. And because words are not enough, it is necessary to support with deeds the endeavor for a reverse in the unfavorable international development.

It is no coincidence that the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests begins on the day of the 40th anniversary of the dropping of the American atomic

bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. That day ushered in the era for mankind--extremely dangerous era of nuclear weapons, of weapons that kill in hundreds of thousand, and which--if deployed en masse--would transform continents and the entire planet Earth into a dead desert. The nuclear warheads that are being accumulated have, in the opinion of some experts, reached a level that equals 8 million Hiroshima bombs. And more bombs are being produced. From the very beginning of this fateful era, the Soviet Union was against nuclear weapons and for their being banned. It was the United States who kept on rejecting these proposals. Once, because it regarded such initiatives as a sign of weakness, and at other times--at variance with the truth--it was asserting that the initiatives are to ensure the Soviet Union alleged military superiority. However, at the root of the rejections was always the fact that American imperialism has never reconciled itself to the existence of socialism, that it was always reckoning on global revenge [revans], that is, on reversing historical developments, and therefore wanted to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union at any price.

And how does the U.S. Government react today to the Soviet unilateral halt on nuclear tests and the appeal to follow the Soviet example? Again with a rejection, accompanied by the hackneyed propaganda phrase that the proposal is to "freeze the Soviet superiority." To this, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has added the statement in Helsinki that halting the program of the nuclear weapons' tests "is not in the interest of the United States." One might justifiably ask: What, actually, is in the interest of the United States? The continuation of the tests and the stockpiling of new weapons as it is coded-in [zakodovano] in the plans of the Pentagon and contained in the profit columns of the military-industrial complex? The U.S. ruling circles, namely, are not willing to accept a Soviet principle that corresponds to the wishes of peace-loving mankind--to preserve the parity of military forces on the lowest possible level. The Soviet Union never strove and does not strive for military superiority.

One can conclude that from Washington's quick rejection that they did not even go to the trouble of studying the proposal, weighing the motives that lead to it, or admitting that it was a significant sign of goodwill. Instead, from the United States there resounded an "anti-initiative," on the basis of which Soviet observers should attend tests of American nuclear weapons in the Nevada desert. Thus, instead of halting the arms buildup, the United States wants to prepare still more dangerous kinds and types of mass destruction weapons. And foreign observers are to be the mantle for their development. That is not the way to world peace. The difference between the two proposals is so obvious and hits the eye, that it was pointed out even by some American congressmen, as well as by experts from the American Center for Defense Information. And they were not alone, because similar views are now being noted by international news agencies within the West German Social-Democratic Party, within the French peace movement, in the British daily THE GUARDIAN, in the Indian daily THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, by the Mayor of Hiroshima, or the chairman of the Council of the Victims of the Nuclear Bombardment in Nagasaki.



Some American newspapers and other information media have dismissed the Soviet initiative, asserting that it is a sort of propaganda maneuver. Evidently they realized that the American "counter proposal"--when compared with the concrete Soviet step--would not be successful, and therefore resorted to juggling with words. However, one also has to recall the Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, the Soviet initiative aimed at freezing nuclear weapons, the draft agreement on a universal and total ban on nuclear weapons tests, as well as the initiative aimed at averting the militarization of outer space. Already 2 years ago, the USSR unilaterally pledged that it will not be the first to deploy any types of antimissile weapons in outer space. At that time, the United States rejected a similar pledge and the bourgeois propaganda could not then come forward with any other argument than to say that this, allegedly, was another Soviet trick. Last April, the Soviet Union decided on a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range missiles in Europe--until November. The American response was the accelerated deployment of its missiles in Western Europe and increased pressure on Belgium and the Netherlands, both of which refused to become launching pads for these first-strike weapons. In April, at the same time, the highest Soviet representative proposed to the United States to declare a moratorium on tests and the deployment of offensive space weapons, and a freeze on strategic offensive weapons for the entire duration of the Soviet-American negotiations on space and nuclear weapons in Geneva. The White House also rejected these initiatives. In spite of that, the Soviet Union did not cease to strive for disarmament and has now come forward with the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

In his speech to the participants in the 12th world festival of youth and students in Moscow, M. Gorbachev said, among other things, that "the Soviet Union has given itself the task of putting an end to the feverish arms buildup, and it is pursuing--not with words, but with deeds--the most radical solution of the problem of nuclear weapons, that is, a total ban on them and scrapping them." And on the eve of the opening of the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs of the signatory states of the Final Act in Helsinki, he announced the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. This is not only a manifestation of goodwill and an appeal to the United States and other countries possessing nuclear weapons, but, above all, evidence that in the Soviet foreign policy words are not at loggerheads with deeds. And that a world without wars and weapons, a world of good relations and honorable cooperation, a world of friendship among nations, is the ideal of socialism and the objective of the Soviet policy.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ANTIIMPERIALIST ASPECTS OF MOSCOW YOUTH FESTIVAL NOTED

AU311556 [Editorial Report] The two main Czechoslovak dailies, PRAGUE RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, carry extensive reports on the anti-imperialist aspects of the Moscow World Festival of Youth and Students. On 29 July RUDE PRAVO carries on page 6 a 700-word Milan Jelinek report in the "From the Festival Notebook" column, entitled "Youth Is Not Indifferent." After describing "explosions of optimism" at the Moscow festival, Jelinek notes that "young people have not come to Moscow merely to make merry. When the Nicaraguan delegation was marching by, the streets and the [crowds] sounded with thundering applause; the same welcome was accorded to boys and girls from Palestine and from Africa, and to the powerful and active organizations of young people from Western Europe. Because they are waging a battle. The welcome showed understanding and sympathies for the youth that is fighting for the freedom of its fatherland, which is defending the independence and sovereignty of its nation, which is fighting the danger threatening all of mankind--the threat of war, the armament.

"The slogan 'For Anti-imperialist solidarity, for peace and friendship' was jointly selected and agreed on by people growing up under different social systems and with different convictions. It contains the main thing that unites young people. The youth of this world is not indifferent. It is proving this by its tense and almost daily struggle against militarist and reactionary forces. The boys and girls are marching through all the metropolies of the world, and they have come to Moscow to get advice, to exchange experience, to find their way. A way which would be effective, a joint way. For, small rivulets merge into a river. The force of its stream can sweep away many things. The youth organizations--and some of them have paid the bitter price of experience of their convictions and knowledge--know that in such a significant battle, a battle in which their own future is at stake, they cannot fight isolated, be their fight ever so courageous and self-sufficient."

Jelinek then says that informal discussions, and sometimes even disputes, and the clarification of opinions began already during the opening parade and continued in all festival centers and also on street corners; stating that many delegates "have come directly from the battlefield, where they have been defending one of the barricades, one of the front lines of the battle against imperialism." Jelinek notes that young people from Palestine,

motto 'For antiimperialist solidarity, for peace and friendship.' This was stated in an interview given to a CTK reporter by Miroslav Stepan, chairman of the International Students Union. Apart from other things, the Moscow festival is concerned with creating new possibilities for the future cooperation of youth and student organizations of various political orientations," the report concludes.

On 30 July on page 7 the paper carries a 900-word article by Martin Krno, entitled "I Accuse Imperialism." "After the good experience of the preceding world festivals of youth and students," Krno states, "the organizers of the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students decided that in Moscow, too, an antiimperialist tribunal would work for 3 days; young people from all over the world will condemn there the plans and practices of the most reactionary circles on earth. Yesterday [29 July] morning this symbolic international trial was solemnly opened in the Congress Hall of the Kosmos Hotel. The first 'interrogation' of witnesses was oriented toward pillorying the U.S. military-industrial complex, the military doctrines, the policy of militarism, the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race, the construction of military bases on the territories of other countries, and war propaganda and its consequences with regard to the younger generation."

The first witness was professor of philosophy Charles Bowao from the Congo, Krno says, followed by representatives of delegations from other countries. Bowao, representing "the socialist youth of the Congo," reportedly accused imperialism of "unwinding a new round of feverish armament, of failing to withdraw from the policy of meddling in the internal affairs of other independent countries, and of preparing a new military confrontation"; economist Wolfgang Schwartz from the GDR is said to have underscored the economic consequences of armament: an unspecified Indian delegate is said to have dealt with the Pentagon militarist centers in Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, and to have pointed out events showing that many Washington figures are displeased by India's independent policy; and a DPRK delegate is said to have spoken of the continuing occupation of South Korea by U.S. troops, which is a "serious threat for worldwide peace."

Krno then deals with the statement made by Jackov Schein, "witness for the progressive organization of boys and girls in Israel" called Yesh Gvul, and said to have been founded by soldiers of the reserve who had refused to participate in Israel's aggressive actions in Lebanon. Schein is said to have "brought to the tribunal a testimony on the reprisals of the Israeli Army on occupied Arab territories."

"The participants in the international tribunal awaited tensely the statement of a representative of the country which has become the center of world imperialism--the United States," Krno continues. This representative was Atibo Mbiwan, a 25-year-old American of African origin who teaches mathematics at a secondary school in Providence. It was from his mouth

Chile, and Nicaragua have brought their scars to Moscow. He continues by noting the surprise of young people from Holland and Spain at the opportunities granted to youth in socialist states, and he concludes by saying: "World affairs are not taking the road wished for not only by young people, but also by the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of our planet. Burning and acute problems have cropped up, and some of them are becoming extremely alarming. At the Moscow Festival they are already being discussed, and they will continue being discussed. To express one's opinion, to listen to the others, to be instructed, to find understanding for the essence of what is happening around us, to support the good and to eliminate the bad and the harmful--such is the purpose of the world youth conference. Yes, the festival will be a dialogue, a frank, honest, and sincere dialogue, and it will yield fruit in the rallying of ranks, in deeper awareness of responsibility. This is a great word, a word which is frequently heard during the first days of the festival. Young people will not only live the days, months, and years to come. They must, and want to, lend a hand in the construction of the edifice which, after all, cannot be erected without their participation."

On 30 July PRAVDA carries on pages 1 and 7 a 550-word Karol Hederling Moscow dispatch, entitled "The Most Valuable Asset of Young People--Unity!" Hederling begins by saying that "an antiimperialist tribunal has opened operations in the Congress Hall of the Kosmos Hotel; it will pass judgement on imperialism's crimes against humanity. This was also the topic of yesterday's [29 July] press conference, attended by representatives of the youth and progressive movements of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but also by Sam Nuyoma, chairman of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO)." After reporting Nuyoma's statement in appreciation of the course and orientation of the Moscow festival and on the racist, exploiting, and terrorist role of the South African Republic, Israel, and the United States, Hederling goes on to say that "only a small number of journalists yesterday [29 July] met Miquel Marmola, former adviser to El Salvador's national hero Farabundo Marti." Hederling notes the communist road traversed by Marmola; quotes him on the fight waged by the youth of El Salvador against imperialism and dictatorship; and quotes Marmola's reply to his own question about the prospects of the Duarte regime: "Without U.S. financial support in particular, the Duarte regime would have crashed long ago. The partisans have neither tanks, nor guns, nor aircraft, they must seize their arms from the government troops. Every Salvadoran is prepared to fight Duarte's cut-throats. This name is justified, the government soldiers assassinate even children." Hederling concludes by stating that Marmola underscored the significance attributed to the Moscow youth festival by young people and the whole world--a significance enhanced by the fact that it is held in the USSR.

On 30 July PRAVDA carries on page 7 a 1,000-word unsigned report, which is part of a 700-word Moscow-dated report entitled "For Antiimperialist Solidarity" and attributed to "our Editors and the CTK." The report states: "The course of the Moscow festival to date has surpassed all expectations. The broad political spectrum of the participants and also their high activity have affirmed the topical nature of the main festival

that the sharpest condemnation of American imperialism resounded." Mbiwan is said to have spoken of the production of new U.S. weapons; of new [militarist] tests in space; of grave social consequences of the U.S. armament expenditures; and of the frustration, despair, alcoholism, and drug addiction of American youth, an increasing number of whom are allegedly joining the peace protest movement and the actions of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Central America. Mbiwan is said to have proven that even in the United States the plans of U.S. imperialists have resolute adversaries. "It was not America that found itself pilloried in Moscow, as the bourgeois press in the United States is claiming," Krno concludes, "but the American imperialism."

CSO: 2400/554

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BLAHNIK URGES COMBAT READINESS

AU301544 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Colonel-General Mioslav Blahnik, chief of the general staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy minister of CSSR's national defense: "Resolutely to Protect the People's Peace Work; High Combat Readiness, an Important Condition of the Reliable Defense of the Fatherland"]

[Text] The 40th jubilee anniversary of the culmination of our people's national liberation fight and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the glorious Soviet Army has also become an opportunity for pondering how we are succeeding in fulfilling the legacy of the members of our antifascist resistance at home and abroad and of the Soviet soldiers who had won us our freedom by their blood and their lives and who had established the prerequisites for our socialist present. During this year's May celebrations, like during the days of our liberation in 1945, we have again resolved to do everything to prevent any repetition of the war terrors, to make it impossible for anybody to disrupt the peaceful work and life of our people.

Among other things, the result of the principled Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal socialist countries, as well as of the great changes in the world which have taken place after the World War II in favor of socialism, democracy, and peace, is the fact that Europe has been living without war for all of 40 years--a unique phase in its history.

International detente, disarmament, peaceful coexistence, and competition of states with different socioeconomic systems represent our basic and lasting starting point for resolving the conflicts existing in the current class-divided world.

This is tellingly documented by more than 100 specific peace proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the entire postwar period. The latest proof of this peace policy is, for instance, the USSR's approaches to negotiations with the United States on space and nuclear arms in Geneva, which were opened on the Soviet Union's initiative, as well as the moratorium on the further deployment of Soviet

intermediate-range guided missiles, declared on 7 April 1985 by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The socialist countries are exerting the same effort to achieve progress at the Vienna negotiations on mutually reducing the strengths of armed forces and armaments in central Europe and at the conference on confidence-building measures, security, and disarmament in Europe, held in Stockholm.

The entire postwar foreign policy of the imperialist powers, and the United States of America in the first place, represents the very opposite of the socialist peace concept of international relations. The heads of world reaction were extremely dissatisfied with the results of World War II; for this reason they began to develop active preparations for a new global confrontation, in the hope that they would succeed not only in halting the revolutionary process evoked by the Soviet Union's victory, but also in definitely liquidating socialism, in recapturing their lost positions, and in reversing the course of history. With the "crusade" against the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community that was publicly proclaimed by President Reagan, U.S. imperialism wants to turn the class struggle on an international scale into a world war confrontation in the interests of its hegemonic goals.

A corresponding military-strategic concept has already been worked out in the United States; the realization of the set political goals by other means, in extremity even military means, has been defined; and the only thing that remains to be done is merely to ensure practical realization. Apart from other things, this is proved by the U.S. and NATO measures which are meant to create the possibility of conducting a so-called limited, nuclear or conventional, war in Europe as one of the dubious ways to reach the goals pursued by the state U.S. policy--namely to achieve victory over the USSR and the other states of the Warsaw Pact. They want to achieve this with the lowest possible losses of their own side, and with the minimum threat to U.S. territory, even if this should be to the detriment of the other NATO countries.

The strongest, best armed and trained, grouping of the armed forces standing at NATO's disposal is deployed in the area of central Europe, in the immediate vicinity of our own country. The plans for attack operations that are being prepared by the command of the North Atlantic Pact already in times of peace count on the moment of operational, as well as so-called technical, surprise. They aim at substantially enhancing the possibility to unleash an armed conflict through a sudden attack on the Warsaw Pact countries.

A situation is being intentionally and systematically created, in which considerable numbers of the troops and arms systems deployed on FRG territory are brought to higher stages of combat readiness, together with transfers of the air force ground forces from overseas. All this is within the framework of the extensive maneuvers and exercises that are held every year in the immediate vicinity of the CSSR and GDR borders. Their purpose is not only to train the troops to conduct offensive operations; they also endeavor to make us get used to these dangerous situations and to weaken our vigilance.

The countries of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, are well aware of the high degree of danger for world peace contained in the current U.S. and NATO policy. That is why they are undertaking everything in their power to avert the threat that has ensued and to halt the feverish armament, as well as to achieve a reduction of armaments and finally also disarmament. However, in view of the aggressive orientation of the policy pursued by the imperialist powers, as was again pointed out by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee Session, we will continue consolidating the CSSR's defense capability in the interests of ensuring the further building of developed socialism in our fatherland and of strengthening the defense of the countries of the socialist community.

Currently, the Reagan administration wants to circumvent certain stipulations of the SALT II Treaty and, in keeping with the interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex, it is unwinding a new round of feverish armament, including its transfer into outer space; thus the demand for consolidating the defense of socialism is particularly urgent.

This was unambiguously expressed by Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, in the speech he delivered at the festive session which was held in honor of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of our people's national liberation fight and of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army: "The Warsaw Pact states will be stepping up their offensive peace effort; but they cannot allow a disruption of the existing strategic balance of forces which the imperialists are striving for. That is why, in the interests of peace and of our own security, we attribute a basic significance to the joint defense measures in which we are actively participating both in our own and in common interests."

One of these measures, imposed by the party's military-political line upon the troops of the Czechoslovak People's Army, is to keep these troops in a state of high combat readiness. It is the combat readiness of the troops which ensures our army's preparedness, in all circumstances and at any moment, to develop resolute activity quickly and in an organized manner, using all their strength and every means to successfully ward off the aggressor--an activity which, in collaboration with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact member-states, makes it possible to reliably succeed in defending the sovereignty of the countries of the socialist community.

From the professional-military and military-political viewpoint, we regard the combat readiness of the Czechoslovak People's Army as an uninterrupted uniform process of the construction of the army which, in its entire complex, represents the adjustment of organizational structures, armament, and troop training to the conditions of contemporary warfare. It organically encompasses the consolidation of the moral-political, mental, and physical state of the troops; the improvement of methods in the troops' transition from a state of peace to a state of war; the preparedness of commanders and staffs to efficiently command the troops; the ability of troops to skillfully master combat technology and defense systems and to make skillful use of them in battle; excellent field and aviation training



standards; and conscious discipline and state of organization. We also regard the current combat readiness as the sum total of other measures, for instance cadre, technical, and rear, measures. All components of combat readiness are equally important; they influence and complement each other. Positive results in one of the components positively affect all other components, and vice versa.

During the past training year, the Czechoslovak People's Army achieved excellent and good results. The commanders and staffs on all levels of our army are not content with this, and regard the achieved standard as the starting point for ensuring yet higher quality of combat readiness in the current training year.

The constantly increasing demands on the combat readiness of our troops are also justified from the viewpoint of the CSSR's geographical position. Our army would be one of the first to have to ward off the enemy's strike in a clash. The long target range of the means of attack, and particularly of the enemy's missiles and aircraft, as well as their precision, effectiveness, and rapid use demand that the Czechoslovak People's Army--and above all the formations and detachments of the anti-air defense, air force, and missile troops, but also the Civil Defense--be able to achieve combat readiness in as short a time as possible.

Combat readiness is also a sociopolitical category, because it expresses the political contents of the activity developed by the CPCZ and the CSSR Government in ensuring the country's defense ability as an organic part of the process of building socialism. It is impossible to successfully resolve the construction tasks without reliably ensuring the country's defense on the one hand, while on the other hand the further consolidation of the state's defense ability is possible solely on the basis of a successful development of our economy and of our scientific-technical potential.

Today it is therefore more necessary than ever before to consistently coordinate the preparation of the Czechoslovak People's Army, of the Civil Defense, and of the entire national economy for activity under the conditions of the state's defense alert [branna pohotovost]. The principle is becoming increasingly valid that a developed economy, with the best possible structure of branches and sectors and prepared to fulfill the tasks of the national economy's transition from the state of peace to the specialized regime of production, is one of the basic prerequisites of enhancing the combat strength and preparedness of the Czechoslovak People's Army and of the Civil Defense, and for maintaining the defense ability of the state as a whole on the level of contemporary requirements. The fulfillment of these requirements is impossible without the active participation of the broadest strata of our population.

It continues to be necessary to consistently enhance the preparedness of Civil Defense forces for organized activity and for warning and protecting the population, as well as to improve the camouflaging and strengthen the resistance capacity of our national economy facilities, including the



consolidation of their independence from the viewpoint of energy requirements by creating the necessary reserves of raw materials and of other material means that are necessary for the smooth operation of production and for the reliable functioning of transport and communications.

It is our lasting task to systematically enhance the readiness of responsible bodies on all levels, to inform them in time, and to make them easily accessible, and also to ensure a quick mobilization of reserves. The high standards of technical equipment in the Czechoslovak People's Army place considerable demands on the quality of reserves, because the combat ability of armed forces and the general defense ability of the state depend on them to a considerable extent. That is why soldiers not on active duty must constantly improve their professional and political preparedness, learn to handle new armament equipment and combat technology, and learn to master it perfectly under field conditions.

An important role is also played by the preparation of young people for military service. In this respect an important role is played by the pre-military training organized by the Union for Cooperation With the Army [SVAZARM], which a considerable number of recruits undergo. Experience shows us that the recruits who have undergone premilitary training adjust more speedily to the demands of the military service, that they are capable of better mastering combat technology and equipment, and that they most frequently become exemplary soldiers and class specialists.

The equipment of the army with modern combat and logistics [zabezpecovací] technology in no way reduces the demands placed on the physical fitness of the soldiers. In view of the physical and psychological load placed on the soldiers under contemporary conditions, these demands will continue to grow; it is therefore necessary that our youth already enhance its physical fitness and psychologic resistance power at a premilitary age, because the recruits trained in this manner are able to merge far better and more speedily with the military collectives after starting their basic military service, and possess better prerequisites for coping with the difficulties of military service.

The interests of consolidating the CSSR's defense ability demand that we constantly improve the paramilitary education of the working people, and of young people first of all. At the same time, we must not forget that, in case of a defense alert of our state, we will have neither the time, nor the opportunity for "additionally" educating in defense-political issues those hundreds of thousands of our citizens who would take up the defense of their fatherland in keeping with the CSSR's Constitution and with the military law. It is therefore the duty of all bodies and social organizations on the basis of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium resolution of 9 January 1985, to be more purposeful and efficient in accomplishing the tasks and measures set for paramilitary education, military propaganda, and the popularization of the Czechoslovak People's Army in society.

Through active ideological-educational work we must already forestall at a premilitary age the moods of indifference and pacifism; and in places where they might be cropping up, we must resolutely fight them. We must show our citizens the truth about the growing aggressiveness of imperialism, and the war danger threatening us. It is unnecessary to exaggerate this danger; but on the other hand we must not underrate it, either, and we must be prepared in time for any and all possibilities. One of the important conditions for this is the high combat readiness of our armed forces.

The comprehensively understood combat readiness is the alpha and omega of all our endeavors in the Czechoslovak People's Army. It directly reflects all the basic qualities of army units, formations, and detachments. It is, above all, the combat readiness which reflects the preparedness of our troops to honorably fulfill at any time their patriotic and international duties in the defense of socialism and peace.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# CTK MARKS HIROSHIMA, NAGASAKI ANNIVERSARY

AU071036 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 6 August on page 6 carries a 550-word CTK-attributed article entitled "Dead and Living Victims Accuse; the Clock of History Strikes the 40th Anniversary of the Most Terrible Crime."

The article, illustrated with a photograph of a watch that stopped at 0816 the day the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima 40 years ago, which appeared on the front page of the 29 July issue of NEWSWEEK, says in part that "the anniversaries of the nonsensical destruction" are nowadays also "an increasingly topical, an increasingly urgent appeal for common sense, addressed to those for whom Hiroshima was only a testing ground, an intoxication with the ideas of nuclear blackmail and threats," and that the "inhuman massacre caused by those who wanted to demonstrate their power to the world and then impose their will upon it without restraint, was supposed to be, above all, an instrument of shameless pressure, a nuclear stick against the progressive endeavor of nations, a threat and intimidation aimed, above all, against the Soviet Union. In reality, it has only become a disgusting, tragically horrible crime of 'ordinary imperialism.'"

CSO: 2400/554

REPORT ON TRADE UNION DELEGATION'S FRG VISIT, TALKS

AU291323 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 85 p 7

[Text] Prague/Bonn (CTK)--The official delegation of the Central Trade Union Council (URO), led by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and URO chairman, visited the FRG on 22-23 July 1985 at the invitation of the Federal Presidium of the German Trade Union Association (DGB). A delegation of the DGB Federal Presidium, headed by Chairman Ernst Breit, conducted negotiations with the URO delegation.

The delegations of the two trade union central offices briefed each other on the current situation in their countries and on their topical tasks. They exchanged opinions on a number of issues in trade union activities in the interests of the working people living under different social systems; and they discussed the possibilities of bilateral contacts between the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) and the DGB, and stated that the visit of the official URO delegation to the FRG has contributed toward improving and further developing these contacts.

Despite their differing attitudes to certain issues of the world events, the representatives of the URO and the DGB agreed that it is the important task of trade unions throughout the world to contribute toward ensuring a lasting peace. In this connection they emphasized the weightiness of the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States and of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and security, as well as on disarmament in Europe; and they expressed the wish that these negotiations should reach positive conclusions. The delegations condemned any and all military abuse of outer space. They are convinced that it will not achieve security, but rather bring on a further armament race.

The deliberations took place in an atmosphere of frankness. In conclusion, the URO delegation invited the representatives of the DGB Federal Presidium to come for an official visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted.

The URO delegation concluded its visit to the FRG on Wednesday [24 July] and returned home. At the airport it was welcomed by URO Secretary Jan Lobersiner, and by Emil Grochol, head of URO's international department.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'INQUISITION' UNDER JOHN PAUL II NOTED

AU051300 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 August on page 4 carries a 1,000-word article by Jan Novy entitled "Are They Merely Talking of the Devil...?" The article deals with criticism within the Roman Catholic Church of the "reactionary" concepts and "authoritarian" style of Pope John Paul II. It is based on a "summary of the accusations" of the pope's policies as presented by Heinz-Joachim Fischer in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG of 15 July, in an article entitled "Spectres in the Vatican."

Novy opens the article by delineating some of the criticism levelled at the pope by his opponents within the church. Quoting Fischer's article in the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, he notes that John Paul II is being charged with "having abandoned the line of the Second Vatican Council, having renounced the dialogue with the world and non-Catholic Christians, wanting to place his own authority above anything else in the church, introducing iron discipline among clergymen and friars, and treating believers like sheep who need the shepherd's guidance." Quoting further from Fischer's article, Novy then refers to accusations, voiced by the pope's critics, of "violations of the freedom of conscience," "stifling of the freedom of thought," "exaggerated discipline," "humble obedience of clergy and laymen," and "interference of the Holy See in the life of church orders."

Novy then notes the Vatican's condemnation of the "theology of liberation" and interprets this condemnation as a consequence of its "militant anti-Marxist orientation." He quotes the West German theologian Hans Kueng's criticism of the Vatican's document on the "theology of liberation" as "damaging to the church" and "another evidence of the authoritarian, pre-council-type restorative policy of Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Ratzinger." Reporting on other recent measures of the Vatican that "cause wrinkles on the foreheads" of Catholics, Novy also mentions the denial of a seat in the pope's plane to a journalist who had criticized his travels; the resignation of the deputy editor-in-chief of OSSERVATORE ROMANO, "obviously because of disagreements with chief editor Agneso, who frequently defends extreme positions"; and the pope's recent appointment of a cardinal with a distinct anticommunist record as chairman of Italian bishops.

Concluding the article, Novy says that despite the efforts of the author of the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG article to question the validity of the charges raised by the pope's critics, "it is a fact that in the church circles one openly speaks about the need for solidarity among clergymen to protect their imperilled freedom against modern-day inquisition."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AUSTRIAN MEDIA'S REPORTING PRACTICES CRITICIZED

AU011410 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jul 85 p 6

[Editorial: "Between Bratislava and Vienna"]

[Text] Last week, DIE PRESSE, which expresses the views of Austrian business circles, published under the above heading its remarks on the CTK statement on the anti-Czechoslovak mudslinging campaign and some articles published in the Czechoslovak press on that issue. Its author Peter Martos does not like the article "They Adulterate Not Only Wine, But Also Politics," which was published in PRAVDA on 23 July. He takes under his wing the staff of the East European Department of the Austrian Radio and Television (ORF).

There is no sense in polemicizing with him, that is for sure. For that, the class dimensions of the contemporary world are too obvious and too pronounced. However, the author's course of action and arguments are typical of the manners prevailing in the bourgeois information media, and are therefore instructive. With an outflanking maneuver, Peter Martos sidestepped the issue of how the journalists of the aforementioned department edited the reports on the celebrations at Velehrad, and asserts that the PRAVDA article blames them for the disruptive incidents. There is nothing like that in the article, naturally. But here are a few facts to refresh one's memory: Mmrs B. Coudenhove-Kalergi included in the groups of hecklers the participants in the traditional Levoca pilgrimage. She stated there were [100,000] of them. According to the estimate of the church dignitaries themselves there were about 45,000 of them, fewer than in other years. They behaved in a very disciplined manner: Not a single sentence expressing some sort of dissatisfaction resounded.

But let us get back to the ORF East European Department. Where the blindness and anticommunist prejudice of its staff leads is shown by the fact that precisely during the highest Czechoslovak representative's visit [to Vienna], they wanted to broadcast the inflammatory program "Bohemia In the Fall" and only the intervention of Austrian official quarters prevented this. There is no analogy in Europe [to such] a gross provocation, and perhaps not even in the world. The "Eastern Report" program on Bratislava--formerly Pressburg--churlishly insults the national feelings of the

Slovaks. It is certainly no coincidence that precisely during the celebrations at Velehrad, ORF broadcast a program obviously intended not for the Austrians, but for the Czechoslovak audience. One wonders why?

Insulting and slandering our social and state system, its representatives, and our nations, has become a sort of fashion with some people in neighboring Austria. Are we, perhaps, to regard as coincidence the fact that Austrian television programs about Czechoslovakia have sunk to the level of the infamous Radio Free Europe and also contain its terminology? By the way, Mr Martos--speaking about us--used an expression which cannot be found in any Czechoslovak article or program about Austria. That also says something.

It would be absolutely pointless to explain to him that there is a difference between the expressions to forbid, not to give a visa, and not to invite. It would be equally pointless to comment on the behavior of ORF staff members in front of the entrance to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Vienna. Our reporters have never lowered themselves to such pogromist practices. The local, as well as the central commission for the preparations of the celebrations of the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius decided (with the participation of church representatives) that in view of the national character of the event and other circumstances, no guests from abroad--with the exception of the papal legate--would be invited. Were they supposed to ask Vienna for approval as in the times of the monarchy?

What was it that actually fascinated the gentlemen from the ORF so much at Velehrad? This year there have been many important events in Czechoslovakia: The celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, or the Czechoslovak Spartakiad 1985, attended by more than a half a million people, at which the joy, enthusiasm, and spontaneity of our population was demonstrated. But that does not interest the gentlemen from the ORF; their attention was caught by a handful of hecklers at Velehrad. By the way, these were not only believers. When such a thing occurs in Austria, it is democracy; but when that happens in our country, it is supposed to be a mass dissatisfaction with social conditions. The expressions of approval for the speech of the representative of the state was simply edited out. It did not fit their plan. The number of participants in the celebration does not constitute even 1 percent of the believers in Czechoslovakia, and the hecklers and rowdies (they also insulted a priest) were only a small fraction of the participants. The organizers of the celebrations themselves dealt with them later. Thus the lie that was broadcast by the ORF about the events at Velehrad and in Levoca has very short and very wobbly legs. A question comes to mind: What would DIE PRESSE write if the security forces were to go into action against the rowdies like the Austrian gendarmes did against the environmentalists in the Hainburger Au, where blood was spilled? Should we, perhaps, ask Vienna in advance for approval as to whom to invite from abroad also for the Jan Hus celebrations?

The current anti-Czechoslovak campaign shows, above all, anger because the world reactionary forces' plan to use these celebrations as an instrument of confrontation between believers and the socialist state and for aggravating international tension did not come off.

Mr Martos also takes under his wing the smugglers of cultural objects who were sentenced by the district court in Poprad. We should be pleased that he reads VYCHOSLOVENSKE NOVINY [THE EAST SLOVAK NEWSPAPER], which reported it on 20 July 1985, but the way in which he presents events to Austrian readers speaks for itself. According to him, it is a persecution of believers. What is it all about? A group of smugglers smuggled to Poland more than Kcs18,000, which is exchanged for 296,000 zlotys, bought religious objects [cultove predmety] and other things, with a view to selling them at a profit. It was precisely the believers who were to be affected. Two of those sentenced were recidivists: The accused Sandor was facing the court for the 10th time. Do they tolerate smuggling or pilferage of churches in Austria? Do they not have recidivists? By the way: In contrast to our neighbors, the press in Czechoslovakia is not permitted to publish the names of the accused before they are sentenced. Scandalizing of suspects, as is done in Austria, cannot happen in our country. But who has given Austrian journalists the right to condemn, disparage, and belittle practically everything in our country? Is that not a manifestation of a certain complex from the times of the monarchy? Or anger over the fact that our nation, oppressed and humiliated under the monarchy, have got on the mainline of world progress under socialism?

And one more thing. Mr Martos thinks that if they were not waging the mudslinging campaign against us, it would seem a silly thing for a small, neutral state. [Sentence as published] Even Thomas Mann, the great German writer and humanist depicted anticommunism as the greatest silliness of our century. Thus the path of silliness leads in a totally different direction than the one the gentlemen from DIE PRESSE think.

But even in Austria they should not think we are naive. It is no secret at all what lies behind the anticommunists' "concern" for believers in Czechoslovakia: It involves not the church, religion, or believers, but the resolution of political clericalism [klerikalizmus] and the abuse of it for antisocialist objectives. We in Slovakia have had particularly bad experience with it: Its representatives left behind mass graves in which there also lie believers. Poland's recent experience with that phenomenon is also instructive.

Our state values the construction [budovatelske] efforts of believers and systematically creates conditions for their religious self-realization. Many believers achieve outstanding results at their work places and have been awarded high state decorations, which were also bestowed on some church dignitaries. No one has the right to doubt their patriotism or depict them as some sort of "oppostionists." That is not only untruthful, but insulting. Unlike Austria, no one in our country is forced to pay the church tax, since all costs connected with the churches' activities are borne by the state, and there are fewer parishes here without a priest



than with our neighbors. However, we will not permit anyone to misuse the religious feelings of believers for counterrevolutionary antisocialist objectives. Four bishops and more than 20 priests are active in the leadership of the World Congress of Slovaks, the emigrees' reactionary political organization. That, of course, makes no difference to those who proclaim that Pacem In Terris has no right to exist. That, of course, is far too transparent.

The author of the article, just as the people from ORF, does not hide the fact that under the pretext of "human rights" he wants to change the social conditions in our country. Does he not have enough scope in Austria? Has he read the Final Act of the Helsinki conference at all?

Does Mr Martos doubt that churches in the socialist countries are open, and believers can go into them without hindrance? We would like to advise him to read the interview Cardinal Koenig gave to the periodical HERDER-KORRESPONDENZ. Unlike DIE PRESSE, we wrote about it in PRAVDA in October 1983. He would learn a lot of interesting things, for example, who wants to negotiate with the representatives of the socialist countries with "appropriate toughness." Of the territories of the former monarchy, only today's Austria is under the cardinal's authority. The Church has more than enough problems there.

Just think of all the people that today identify with Cyril and Methodius! Why would that be? In the past, only representatives of our national liberation movement were interested in the brothers from Saloniki, and today even revanchists from the SUDETEN-DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG keep on proclaiming that it is precisely they who "correctly appreciated" their importance for the present. Are we expected to believe that the reasons for this interest are religious?

The author then states that our neighbors are waiting for the results of the efforts of the two governments, the Austrian and ours, for good relations in everyday life. We, too, are waiting for that. He does not like the Czechoslovak border guards and customs officers, and we again do not like the behavior of anticommunist agitators.

We could cite many other fabrications Mr Martos uses to disorient the Austrian public. Thus, for example, he asserts that in Czechoslovakia one cannot buy religious objects.

But why argue? The Final Act of the Helsinki conference, whose 10th anniversary we mark, and the good results of the endeavor of the two governments and the highest state representatives to date are a reliable foundation for the further development of good neighborly relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria. Only no one should torpedo them.

CSO: 2400/554

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESS COMMENTS ON GABCIKOVO-NAGYMAROS PROJECT

AU011448 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 July carries on page 2 a 750-word Zilina-dated article by Miroslav Ruttkay, entitled "They Are Raising the Level of Exacting Demands." After stating that the collectives of the Vahostav enterprise in Zilina are honorably fulfilling their pledges at the first construction project of the nuclear power station in Mochovce and at the site of the production and assembly hall of the TESLA enterprise in Liptovsky Hradek, Ruttkay goes on to quote Ing Vladimir Kuderavy, head of the section of new technologies and rationalization in the management of the Vahostav enterprise, on the tasks facing the enterprise in the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-project.

According to Kuderavy, one of the tasks was to reinforce the seepage channels [priesakove kanaly]; it was resolved in cooperation with the Bratislava Research Institute of Engineering Construction, with the use of a new method of reinforcement using new domestic geotextiles [geotextilie]. The collective of the research and development base of the Vahostav enterprise management designed a complex set of machinery for regulating gradients, and for spreading the geotextiles partly under water and covering them by filtration material. The machinery set was produced by the development workshops of the enterprise. Last year this progressive method was used for laying down 167,000 square meters of textiles, and this year the figure will be 200,000 square meters. The method helped cut down the amount of gravel sand needed by 600,000 cubic meters, Ruttkay says.

The development and production of new recipes for grouting mixtures [injekcni smesi] was the concern of Ing Rudolf Rak, who suggested the use of a new mixture on the basis of citric acid; this method achieves a better sealing effect and has helped save more than Kcs63 million in capital expenditures, Ruttkay states.

The enterprise also developed drilling equipment for the automatic grouting center, produced it from domestic components, and thus saved at least 2 million foreign currency korunas, Ruttkay adds.

He then quotes Ing Vladimir Kusnier, technical deputy director of the Vahostav enterprise, as saying that all these measures, and also other measures for reducing the number of necessary drill holes at the bottom

of the future power station, have helped cut down the construction time and reduced the overall capital expenditures by almost Kcs250,000,000. This, Ruttkay continues, helped to successfully surpass the planned parameters; although the plan permitted drawing 1.1 cubic meters of water from the bottom per second, currently the figure is merely 0.4 cubic meters per second.

Ruttkay concludes by saying that the progressive method enables the enterprise to fulfill the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan in building the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydroproject system ahead of time; that the total value of construction work accomplished since the beginning of 1981 amounted to Kcs1,954 billion, which is equal to the sum total of planned volumes for the individual years of the present 5-year plan; that this has helped complete the extensive grouting work both on the vat of the hydroelectric power station, and on the inlet channel; that work is currently going on both on the dams of the inlet channel, and on the sealing of the seepage channels; and that the value of construction work accomplished by the enterprise since 1978 amounts to Kcs2,128 billion, which equals almost 50 percent of the total investments.

Prague ZEMĚDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 27 July carries on page 3 a 1,600-word Michal Štefanek article, entitled "The First Energy in 1990." After stating that the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydroproject system comprehensively resolves the utilization of a 200-km section of the Danube between Bratislava and Budapest, Štefanek quotes some figures: the output of the power station in Gabčíkovo will be 720 mw, in Nagymaros 158 mw, totalling 878 mw; (for comparison, the power station in Orlik has 364 mw; in Lipno 220 mw; and in Liptovská Mara 198 mw); and the average annual production of electric energy will be 3,770 GWh.

The minimum depth of the shipping route in the Bratislava-Budapest sector will be 3.6-4 m; the minimum width will be 180 m, with a minimum curvature radius of 1000 m; and the permitted draft will increase from 1.7 m to 2.5 m, and later even 3.5 m, Štefanek says.

After noting that the total value of construction work is estimated at Kcs12.6 billion, 4 billion of which have already been spent by the end of last year (and that the Hungarian partner is to deliver the same volume of work), Štefanek says that the entire system will consist of several relatively independent projects; thus the Gabčíkovo hydroproject will consist of the Hrusov-Dunakiliti reservoir, of the inlet channel, and of the hydroelectric power station and lock chambers in Gabčíkovo, and will also include the deepening of the Danube riverbed under Pálkövöc, regulation measures in the old riverbed and in the Danube branches, and protection measures on the adjoining territory.

The Gabčíkovo concept resolves the utilization of the Danube with the aid of a shunt channel [derivacní kanál] and is aimed at producing energy particularly during the peak periods, Štefanek continues; the Danube tributaries, gathered by the Hrusov-Dunakiliti dam, will be led through a 17-km inlet channel with a flow capacity of up to 4000 cubic meters to

the power station; after producing energy in two peak shifts, they will then be led through a drainage conduit back to the Danube. After the completion of the project Stefanek adds, the Danube shipping will be shifted to the shunt channel and the difference in the river gradient will be balanced out with the aid of two lock chambers.

The construction solution of the hydropower station and of the lock chambers is unique, Stefanek points out: they are being built on water-bearing gravel sand more than 300 m deep; and, since the level of subsoil water is high, they had to be anchored in separate foundation pits. The electric power station will be placed in one 374x214-meter vat which had to be sealed 42-60 m deep by a self-setting suspension 60 cm thick; and its bottom was made by a 7-meter-deep grouting of gravel sand. The isolated vat was then emptied of water, and the well of the power station excavated; the total surface of the well walls amounts to 93,098 square meters. The well was completed at the beginning of May, Stefanek continues; it is now being cleaned, and will then be cemented. By the end of 1985 the cementing work will require 112,000 cubic meters of concrete, and in 1986 up to 400,000 cubic meters, he adds.

The embankment of the inlet channel dam will reach 11-18 m above the terrain and will be sealed with asphalt concrete, Stefanek states. He goes on to deplore that this year's severe winter has caused delays in the plan fulfillment on the project worth Kcs46 million; the delays must be eliminated particularly in work on the inlet channel, and must be preceded by speedier work on the tail channel which yields gravel sand for the inlet channel, he says. Among the problems with which the project has to cope, Stefanek mentions the delayed deliveries of 500-ton tower cranes from abroad; the lack of transportation belts for concrete (which make it necessary to use other working methods for laying concrete); the lack of manpower (the project needs about 450 iron workers and 280 carpenters; therefore workers of other qualifications are being retrained); and the lack of special sealing foil for the bottom of the inlet channel (the Fatra plant in Napajedlo will only start producing it next year).

Stefanek concludes by saying that the builders are doing substitute work to compensate for the delays caused by the problems mentioned above, and also to keep to the 1990 deadline for setting the first turbines in operation and for completing the entire project in 1994. A comprehensive environmental impact study is being worked out to neutralize the adverse effect of the project on the lowland forests along the Danube, he says; and the problem of a changed regime of subsoil waters will be resolved by building seepage channels, which will also ensure the stability of the subsoil against filtration breakdowns.

CSO: 2400/554

CSSR, AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS INTERVIEWED ON RELATIONS

AU012030 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 1 Aug 85

[Interview given by Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz and CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek to Vienna Television correspondent Paul Schulmeister in Helsinki on 1 August; recorded in German]

[Text] [Schulmeister] Foreign Minister Gratz received his counterpart Chnoupek with a hello [Gruess Gott]. They had met the last time 2 and 1/2 months ago in Vienna. There have been border conflicts since that time again and Cardinal Koenig was denied entry to attend the Methodius festivities. A mistake, Chnoupek now intimated, and with this referred to the party hardliners in Prague. Today's meeting with Gratz took place on Chnoupek's initiative.

[Chnoupek] We have taken a few good steps forward in the past few years; we met with Minister Gratz 2 months ago in Vienna. We have discussed this problem and we have taken a good step forward since that time.

[Schulmeister] But there have always been setbacks, particularly in the past few months.

[Chnoupek] Well, setbacks...there are always setbacks between neighboring states is this not so? But in general I would like to assess this development positively.

[Gratz] For me it is essential that we have once again noted that both governments, that is, the entire governments and both state presidents, have the earnest will to improve relations step by step. And after all, we will have the opportunity at the session of the mixed commission in September in Vienna to go over all individual problems, point by point, because an improvement of relations is made up by specific individual problems and these must be solved.

[Schulmeister] Why are there time and again problems in the relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia, problems that are absent, for example, in the relations between Austria and Hungary?

[Chnoupek] I would like to quote the Austrian President Dr Kirchschlaeger: It is very easy to develop relations with countries that are far away. Is this not so? But it is not always that easy with neighbors. And this is why there are problems and why there will be problems. And these problems must be solved with a good political will.

CSO: 2300/484

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROMINENT FIGURES MISSING AT METHODIUS' ANNIVERSARY

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 Jul 85 p 10

[Text] The celebration, this week, of the 1,100th anniversary of the deaths of Saints Cyril and Methodius, apostles to the Slavs, is the occasion of comings and goings by prelates in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the two countries directly concerned. It is also an occasion for noting certain absences, due to the Prague communist government's extreme rigidity on the religious question.

The main absentee at the ceremonies planned for Sunday, 7 July at Velehrad, near Bratislava (Methodius' presumed birthplace), will obviously be the Pope himself. The Czechoslovak authorities have, in fact, rejected the presence of John Paul II, invited nevertheless by Cardinal Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and primate of Bohemia. On the other hand, Prague has authorized the visit of Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican secretary of state.

A communique issued on 3 July by the archdiocese of Paris announces, moreover, that the Czechoslovak authorities have refused a visa to Cardinal Lustiger. An identical refusal had been conveyed, the previous week, to Cardinal Hume, primate of England.

On the other hand, Msgr Glemp was able to make, for the occasion, the first visit to Czechoslovakia by a Polish primate. The head of the most powerful Catholic church in a communist country had talks with his counterpart Msgr Tomasek, himself at the head of the most watched "Roman" community in the Soviet bloc. The talks dealt with "the situation and conditions of religious activity in the two countries. We are very close, geographically and spiritually."

In Yugoslavia, on the other hand, things are going better, even if the Belgrade authorities sometimes accuse the Catholic hierarchy of seeking to exercise political influence. The 1,100th anniversary ceremonies are being held at Djakovo on Thursday and Friday, 4 and 5 July. Msgr Casaroli is attending. Previously, he was able to meet, in an interview described in Belgrade as "friendly," Mrs Milka Planinc, Yugoslav prime minister. It is considered possible, in diplomatic circles, that there was a question of a possible visit to the country by the Pope. In an encyclical made public on 2 July, John Paul II has just expressed his wish to see Eastern Europeans free to practice Christianity without constraints (LE MONDE of 3 July).

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FAMOUS SCIENTIST CALLS FOR BETTER CREATIVE WORK

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 110, 24 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 24 Jul 85: "Replacement of Mediocre Managers and Researchers Demanded"]

[Text] In the opinion of the renowned inventor and scientist, Prof Dr Werner Gilde of Halle, stricter standards should be applied to the work of researchers in the GDR. In an interview, the 65-year-old man said that the practice in science should be the same as in competitive sports, where it goes without saying that "the athletes who do not produce top notch performances are replaced." He said that "nobody [ought] to confuse the GDR with a welfare state in which the performance principle applies only to some people." With respect to this, there are "still very great reserves" in the enterprises and research institutes of the GDR in the opinion of Prof Gilde, who very successfully headed the Central Institute for Welding Technology [ZIS] in Halle for 32 years. According to him, the number of people in the GDR who "work themselves to death [is] very small!" Prof Gilde argued that those managers who complain that the pressures of the day leave them too little time to arrange for tomorrow's successes ought to be dismissed. He said they would have to be replaced by better managers with an eye to the future. The scientist argued emphatically for conditions which stimulate creativity, which is most severely damaged "if people prescribe to the researcher not only the goal, but also the way in which it is to be achieved."

Prof Gilde has aroused considerable attention in the GDR with his recently published book, "Paths To Success". The economist, Dr Juergen Kuczynski, called it "one of the most significant books ever published here." He said it virtually coruscated with ideas and astounding trains of thought, and ought to be required reading for every scientist and manager. In his book, Prof Gilde exposes many weak points in the socialist management process; among other things, he criticizes the meetings common in the GDR, which are just as boring as they are long, though he admits that "the best ideas always come" to him during them. In a book review, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND said in a somewhat aloof tone that many of Gilde's comments were "pointedly expressed".

CSO: 2300/480

POLAND

# POLISH BOOKS BEING PRINTED IN YUGOSLAVIA

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by T. B.: "Polish Books From Yugoslav Printing Houses"]

[Excerpt] Given the shortage of paper, the limited printshop production capacity, and the antiquated printing machinery, it has become necessary--in order to maintain even the bare minimum of supply for the book market--to have many items, especially illustrated books, printed abroad.

Janusz Palacz, the director of the Foreign Trade Center "Ars Polona," told this journalist that the largest printing services contractor for our country is Yugoslavia, to which over one-third of all foreign printing orders are sent. We paid 14.5 million dollars for these orders last year, while this year the value of these imports will grow to 16 or 16.5 million dollars. It is very important in this regard that, in keeping with the rules governing our trade relations with this country, we pay for these services not in cash, but in various kinds of export goods including, waste paper, paper bags.

This year's big hit was "Pan Tadeus" with illustrations by T. Gronowski (200,000 copies). In addition, Hans Christian Andersen's "Fairy Tales" (200,000 copies), "Polish Cooking" (100,000 copies), numerous albums--among others, "The Polish People's Army--40th Anniversary of the Victory Over Fascism," educational books (i.e., B. Suchodolski's "History of Culture"), and even text books (i.e., "Human Anatomy and Physiology" with a printing of 100,000 copies), have been ordered.

CSO: 2600/992



#### BRIEFS

**PARTY YOUTH INVOLVEMENT**--A two-day conference of the Youth Commission of the PZPR Central Committee was concluded on 10 July in Nowy Sacz. The conference was devoted to the problems of getting young people involved in a wider range of cultural activities. During the course of the conference, presided by Party Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, much attention was also paid to the deficiencies of the cultural infrastructure, especially in the villages, and also to the lack of financial resources. There was agreement, however, that money and infrastructure are not in themselves the deciding elements of success, that life presents numerous examples which show that even in modest circumstances, much can be done in culture and for culture. Furthermore, it was said, the existing cultural infrastructure does not always notice young people, preferring to orient its clubs and community centers toward the adult population. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jul 85 p 2]

**SOVIET AUTHOR VISITS**--On the invitation of the Union of Polish Writers, Yuriy Surovtsev, secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, is visiting in Poland. Representatives of the administration of the Cultural Department of the PZPR Central Committee met with Y. Surovtsev on 16 July. Kazimierz Molek, deputy director of this department, briefed the guest on major problems of Polish cultural life, especially literary problems. The rapidly growing cooperation between the Polish and Soviet Writers' Unions was discussed, especially so in terms of contacts between young writers. Zbigniew Zafjan, the vice-president of the Main Administration of the Polish Writers' Union, took part in this meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jul 85 p 2]

CSO: 2600/992

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION REVIEWING RESOLVING OF REQUESTS, COMPLAINTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 4 Jul 85 pp 4-5

[Council of State Resolution Approving the Membership of the Commission for the Analysis of the Activity of Resolving Proposals, Comments, Complaints and Requests of Workers Addressed to the Council of State]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:  
Article 1--Approval is given for the membership of the Commission for the Analysis of the Activity of Resolving Proposals, Comments, Complaints and Requests of Workers addressed to the Council of State, as stipulated in the annex, which is an integral part of the present resolution.

Article 2--Council of State Resolution No 1/1978 is no longer applicable.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of  
Romania

Bucharest, 3 July 1985  
No 1

Annex

Membership of the Commission for the Analysis of the Activity of Resolving Proposals, Comments, Complaints and Requests of Workers Addressed to the Council of State

Chairman

1. Vasile Vilcu--member of the Council of State, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the Romanian Communist Party

Members

2. Stefania Ionescu--secretary of the Grand National Assembly, president of the Putineiu agricultural production cooperative, Teleorman County

3. Maria Ciocan--member of the Council of State, secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania

4. Dinu Danieluc--deputy in the Grand National Assembly, president of the Valea Argovei agricultural production cooperative, Calarasi County
5. Iuliana Bucur--deputy in the Grand National Assembly, state secretary in the Ministry of Light Industry
6. Decebal Urdea--deputy in the Grand National Assembly, deputy minister of finance
7. Iuliu Fejes--seputy in the Grand National Assembly, secretary of the National Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality
8. Georgeta Mecu--deputy minister of labor
9. Romica Onica--from the directorate of the chief prosecutor in the Office of the Prosecutor General
10. Constantin Voinescu--director of the Directorate for State Administration and Organization in the Committee for Problems of Peoples Councils
11. Mircea Andreescu--mechanical engineer, member of the party committee and secretary of the basic organization in the complex equipment factory in the Bucharest heavy machinery enterprise
12. Velicu Mihalea--major general, deputy chief inspector of the General Inspectorate of the Militia
13. Aurelian Gubandru--deputy chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives
14. Rada Mocanu--deputy minister of education and instruction
15. Gheorghe Glaman--deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry
16. Olga Horsia--deputy chairman of the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives
17. Traian Salajan--director of the Directorate for Organization and Control in the Ministry of the Machine-Building Industry
18. Veronica Ciobanete--state secretary in the Ministry of Health
19. Ion Comanescu--state secretary in the Ministry of Domestic Trade
20. Florea Vintila--director of the Directorate for Personnel and Training in the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications
21. Ion Nadolu--master lathe operator in the "23 August" plant in Bucharest, member of the party committee in the enterprise

CSO: 2700/188

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Valeriu Ceoceanica is relieved of his position as deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Comrade Florin-Teodor Tanasescu is appointed deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Comrade Diamanta Laudoniu is appointed deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, Comrade Vintila Rotaru is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry, Comrade Stan Tirlea is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry, and Comrade Ioana Dragan is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 4 Jul 85 p 3]

CSO: 2700/188

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY DOCUMENT ON WORKERS' RIGHTS IN DECIDING INCOME ALLOCATION

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 85 (Special Supplement) pp 2-24

[Draft of positions to be taken by the LCY Central Committee and supporting arguments for the draft of positions to be taken by the LCY Central Committee]

[Text] The present debate on achievement of the status, rights, obligations and responsibilities of the workers in the disposition and management of resources for social reproduction as defined in the constitution has no reason to open up and raise all the issues concerning development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. We take it for granted that those issues have by and large been fully covered and resolved by the LCY Program, the SFRY Constitution and the decisions of the 10th, 11th and 12th Congresses of the LCY, as well as by the Law on Associated Labor and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

But since the essence of the socioeconomic relations set forth in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor is not yet being realized, it has become necessary to ascertain the reasons for this by critical analysis and to examine and propose the necessary corrections and supplements to the socioeconomic system.

An exhaustive critical analysis in this respect has been presented in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, and it was on that basis that a broad range of proposals for certain changes in the economic system, as well as measures in development policy and current economic policy, was also worked out.

The LCY is firmly committed to consistent and integral implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, so that on this occasion there is no need to restate its basic positions concerning development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management as a whole. However, it is all the more necessary to point out those principles and provisions of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor and the commitments of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program which are not being implemented or are not being sufficiently accomplished, to clarify more broadly and profoundly the aspects of political ideology that are related thereto and which up to now have not been resolved or have not been sufficiently worked out, and whose resolution is most crucial to consistent realization of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

Those are the reasons why the draft of these positions of the LCY Central Committee restricts itself mainly to those issues. Another basic premise was the fact that the positions of the LCY Central Committee should not enter into elaboration of the modalities of specific solutions, into operationalization in particular segments of our economic system, which would be imposed by decisions concerning the basic and key issues related to the future development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management. That is the right and obligation of delegate assemblies and the competent government and self-management authorities.

#### Draft of Positions of the LCY Central Committee

For more than three decades the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has fought resolutely to achieve and develop a system of socialist self-management, which is to be based on the material and moral, personal and social interests of the workers in associated labor who are working with socially owned means of production and who by their labor are achieving satisfaction of their personal needs and the needs of society, development of the productive forces, and society's general prosperity.

Enactment of the SFRY Constitution in 1974, of the Law on Associated Labor, and also of the decisions of the 10th, 11th and 12th LCY Congresses and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program was especially important to the implementation of those revolutionary commitments. But in spite of all these achievements, experience has demonstrated that the relations in production and distribution and the constitutional rights, obligations and responsibilities of the workers in the disposition and management of resources for social reproduction as set forth in the constitution are not yet being sufficiently realized either in the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] or in the totality of associated labor and society. In socioeconomic relations and social reproduction, especially concerning decisions on accumulation and expanded reproduction, production structures in work organizations and commercial banks have the dominant role, the process of degovernmentalization has been slow and unsatisfactory, and the result is that the predominant power of government bodies and agencies is strengthened. Self-management organization and decisionmaking of the workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor is more a formality, and has not in its essence been brought into conformity with the constitution. The worker is still not making the decisions to any significant degree concerning the conditions and the results of his labor. There are strong tendencies on the part of technobureaucratic and statist forces to keep him bound up in the old relations or to push him back into the relations of wage labor. Winning that status for workers in OUR's [organization of associated labor] and in society as a whole and overcoming the tendencies of violation of social ownership, voluntarism and inefficiency in the use of resources for social reproduction are today posed in a still more urgent form as the basic task of our society and of all the socialist forces, especially the League of Communists.

The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program presented an exhaustive critical analysis of that situation and pointed out that failure to achieve the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management and the status of the workers

in associated labor as set forth in the constitution, that is, further retention of the strong remnants of bureaucratic-statist and technocratic consciousness and relations--is the basic and essential cause of the crisis situation in the economy and in society as a whole. It is manifested in the decline of the efficiency with which economic activity is conducted, a slowing down of the growth of the social product and labor productivity, exacerbation of structural problems in production and on the market, in the immense foreign debt, in the drop of the economy's ability to form capital and to reinvest, disruption of the unity of the Yugoslav market, accompanied by the presence of strong tendencies for it to become shut off and broken up into parcels, in neglect of the role and place of science and failure to take advantage of scientific and technological advances, and in other difficulties. The synthetic expression of the economic crisis is the very high rate of inflation, with adverse economic, social and political consequences. In this connection it is worth pointing to the adverse influence of the state of crisis in the world and especially in world economic flows. Yet for our part we still have not organized or prepared ourselves sufficiently to be ready to take the blows and crises in international economic flows and to react more rapidly and appropriately to the changes that are occurring on the world market.

## I

The fact that strong elements of state-ownership and group-ownership relations are still present is characteristic of the present stage of development of the system of socialist self-management as a whole, and especially of achievement of the workers' constitutional status in associated labor with respect to decisionmaking and disposition of income and resources for social reproduction. Under those conditions professional management structures, which have ties with the official bodies and staff services in the banks, and government bodies and agencies, in tandem with other centers of political power, still have the predominant influence on disposition of resources for social reproduction, while the workers in associated labor are making decisions concerning an ever smaller portion of income.

### The Consequences of Inconsistency

The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program pointed out that one of the basic causes of the disrupted relations in social reproduction and of the low efficiency in utilization of the available material and human potential of our economy lies in certain shortcomings in the legislative elaboration of the system of socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management set forth in the constitution, and especially in the departures in practice from the principles and provisions of the constitution and from the relations set forth in the Law on Associated Labor and other laws which are in effect. In that context the actual relations in decisionmaking concerning expanded reproduction and resources to finance it are those least in conformity with the status of the workers set forth in the constitution as the basis of our socioeconomic system. Relations in which the workers in OOUR's, linked to other workers in associated labor, would be in a position to decide on the conditions, resources and results of their labor and concerning social reproduction as a whole have not been achieved.

If the workers are to be able to manage the resources of society, they must be appropriately organized in self-management and economically motivated and compelled, in conformity with the economic laws, to fight for their rights, for the optimum development of society's productive forces and to be in a position of making decisions on that basis concerning production, concerning investments and development, concerning the means of production and income, and especially concerning resources for expanded reproduction, which, as social property in the context of highly developed commodity production and the operation of economic laws, are being invested in money form in the process of production in order to be augmented.

An essential factor limiting achievement of the programmatic commitments of the LCY and the status of the workers in associated labor set forth in the constitution has been the inappropriate self-management organization of basic and other OUR's--on the one hand sluggishness and inconsistency in settling the essential issues of production relations and the system, and on the other an exaggerated normativism, the fragmentation, separateness and exclusiveness of basic and other organizations of associated labor and the consequent disruptions of the relations among individual OUR's as set forth in the constitution. Under those conditions work organizations have not been entering into broader association and linkage to form complex organizations of associated labor, business communities, communities of associated labor for mutual cooperation in planning and the conduct of business, nor vertical linkage in the framework of the unified Yugoslav economy, establishment of ties on the basis of relations in reproduction, nor joint efforts on the domestic and foreign market in order to maximize income and pursue other economic interests.

Particular problems have been cropping up in relations between the workers of OOUR's and the workers of joint staff services both within the OOUR's and also and particularly in work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor, as well as in business communities. Accurate evaluation of the actual contribution of the workers of joint staff services to current business operation and to the results of business operation as a whole has not been achieved, nor evaluation of their contribution to management of resources for social reproduction and income earned jointly on the basis of labor and resources pooled with other OUR's. Likewise relations between individual OOUR's within the framework of the work organization or the complex organization of associated labor have not been specifically defined in practice from the standpoint of the conditions for realizing joint income and for distributing the joint income earned.

Large inefficiencies occur in utilization of resources for social reproduction when the social nature of the means of production is not consistently achieved, when the relations of state ownership and group ownership are being superseded very unevenly and slowly, when the objective role of the market and the operation of its laws are being displaced voluntaristically, and when the decisive role of the workers in organizations of associated labor is not being realized, and when as a consequence all the conditions have not been created for realizing the essence of social self-management planning.



The most serious consequences of this situation are manifested above all in our economy's feeble ability to generate capital and to reinvest, but also--and still worse--in the fact that the producers and the workers in work processes themselves have not yet been liberated from the status and consciousness of wage workers, that is, from the pressures and monopoly decisionmaking of statist and technobureaucratic forces concerning the conditions and the results of labor. Relations and conditions have not yet been brought about in which the workers in direct production and all other economic and social entities would be materially motivated to achieve optimum utilization of the means of production and optimum assignment of the income earned, especially the resources of society for expanded reproduction on behalf of the fastest possible growth of labor productivity, output and income as well as the proper relations between accumulation and consumption so that on the basis of all that optimum development of the new productive forces and a rise in the personal and social standard of living of the working people would be achieved.

The present relations in production and distribution, and especially the constant drop in the share of OUR's in the distribution of income, do not entirely suit either the programmatic commitments of the LCY and the principles and provisions adopted in the constitution, nor objective economic necessities and laws. There is an especially serious threat to the principle of distribution of resources for reproduction according to the criterion of the social utility of labor and distribution of resources for personal consumption according to the work of individuals and the performance of OUR's. Along with the unevenness and considerable differences in the level of development which has been achieved and the economic position of individual economic and social entities, which have to be respected, this has in turn had an adverse effect on the motivation of the workers to raise labor productivity, to conduct economic activity competently and to manage social resources successfully.

In all of this the main reasons are to be found for the occurrence of blockages in the functioning of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical systems of socialist self-management, for the difficulties that arise in the reproduction of our system, and that is why the standstill has occurred in its development. It is also certain that the relative underdevelopment and unevenness in development of the productive forces and the productive capacity of social labor and the failure to realize the working class essence of our democracy in all its social and political consequences in contemporary society and the contradictoriness of social ownership under the conditions of advanced commodity production have had a direct impact on the development of socialist self-management. We also must bear in mind the unsatisfactory activity of the socialist forces for self-management, the League of Communists in particular, which have vacillated and have been slow and inconsistent in making their contribution to creation of the general and material conditions for the development of self-management and which have been inadequately organized and decisive in the ideological struggle against the theories and ideologies and also against the remnants of the old consciousness in society, which are incompatible with and opposite to socialist self-management.

All of this indicates that relations in production and distribution have not been established on the foundations set forth in the constitution. The fight

to operationalize and achieve the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program must in essence be aimed at authentic implementation of the provisions of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor in the practice of OUR's, in self-managing communities of interest, and in sociopolitical communities.

#### How To Motivate the Workers

Which means that the basic issue which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia faces today as the leading political-ideological force of the working class and of our society can be stated this way: What is to be done so as to reliably guarantee more successful realization in practice of the LCY Program and the relations in production and distribution in associated labor set forth in the constitution, that is, the rights, duties and responsibilities of the workers in distribution of resources for social reproduction?

It has been demonstrated that the production relations in which the system of associated labor would develop successfully can be the fruit of the self-conscious revolutionary action of the working class and of all the socialist forces, but that action must be based on good clarification and comprehension of the essence of those relations and on the objective conditions and laws of their inception and development.

In achievement of the constitutional rights and obligations of the workers in associated labor to make decisions concerning resources for reproduction and concerning income, that is, concerning the entirety of resources for social reproduction, it is of essential importance to consistently achieve in practice the commitments of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program concerning the absolutely necessary adaptation of the economic system to the requirements of stabilization. In that context it is above all necessary, through the resolute action of the LC and all other subjective forces, to create the conditions to overcome relations in which professional management structures and other structures outside associated labor, the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities and other factors usurp the self-management rights of the workers and, exceeding their constitutional powers, determine the flows of social reproduction to a considerable extent.

From this standpoint it is indispensable to resolve as soon as possible the problems in the system for financing expanded reproduction, to make the indispensable changes in the banking system, the credit system and the monetary system, but in the directions set forth in the stabilization program and the conclusions and views of the 16th and 17th Meetings of the LCY Central Committee.

There is an indispensable need for the specific, well-organized and intensive activity of the LC, the trade unions and other subjective factors from the OUR to the Federation to advance the organization of self-management and to integrate associated labor both within basic and other organizations of associated labor and also on the scale of the entire society. Along that line it is extremely important to reaffirm the role of the workers' councils as the bodies for management of labor and conduct of the business of organizations of associated labor as well as the responsibility of professional management and

the joint staff services. The inalienable rights of the workers, especially those pertaining to their decisionmaking concerning income and resources for expanded reproduction and the times when it is indispensable that the workers take a position individually. In this connection it is essential to clearly distinguish the rights and obligations of the workers from the functions of professional management within the OUR and in banks. Conditions should be created under which they will be responsible to the workers who elect them to those positions.

It is of particular importance to the true status of the workers and their management of income and resources for social reproduction that the opstina developed more and more as a self-governed community in which the entire system of self-management and democratic relations and cooperation among the working people and citizens and their OOUR's, local communities and self-managing communities of interest and sociopolitical organizations operates, so that the working people in OOUR's, directly and through their delegates, together with the working people and citizens in local communities, make decisions concerning the income which they appropriate to satisfy their material needs, social needs, cultural needs and other common needs in the realm of the social services. It is indispensable to develop the forms of direct pooling of labor and resources to a greater degree on the basis of joint programs for resolving the most essential issues of interest to the life and work of the working people and in that way to create the conditions for gradual abandonment of the practice of appropriating mandatory contributions which the workers do not have sufficient control over or knowledge of once they are in the self-managing communities of interest. There is also a need for further advancement of interopstina cooperation through direct pooling of resources on the basis of joint programs and for more effective resolution of certain problems in satisfying needs for social services in the domains of housing, cultural activities, child and social welfare, education, culture, physical education, consumer protection, environmental protection and improvement of the environment, national defense and social self-protection, and in other domains of life and work on a broader scale.

It is likewise of essential importance, if the workers in associated labor are to take control over the conditions and results of their labor and the entirety of resources for social reproduction, to consistently achieve the constitutional status and responsibility of the Federation, the republics and the provinces and for their bodies and agencies to function effectively. The consistent operation of government bodies as a whole, and especially executive and administrative bodies, in carrying out the policy which has been established and in enforcing laws and other enactments constitute one of the preconditions for overcoming cases and tendencies of the departure of relations in associated labor and in society from those relations which have been set forth in the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

## II

One of the most essential conditions for successful achievement and development of the system of associated labor, as our constitution states--the obligation of the workers in associated labor to constantly renew, augment and

advance the social resources with which they work, in their own common interest and in the general interest of society--can truly be achieved only if the resources for reproduction in money form are invested and used so as to be optimally augmented.

It is an objectively given necessity (and contradiction) that there be a definite relationship between the labor necessary to satisfy people's immediate personal needs, needs for social services and general social needs on the one hand, and the surplus of social labor with which the productive forces are developed on an expanded scale on the other.

That is why the proper relationship must be ensured in the distribution of the social product between direct consumption and accumulation, as well as among the various types of direct consumption (personal, social services and government) in the proportions which will exert an optimum influence toward development of the productive forces, output and labor productivity.

In the system of social ownership, in which the workers in associated labor are supposed to be the decisive factor, it is obvious that they, as well as all other economic and social entities, should be given material motivation not only to achieve the largest possible accumulation of the resources of society, but also to use them in the most optimum way in production and especially in investment policy and consumption. Satisfaction of the workers' personal needs and their need for social services and government should be strictly linked to their actual labor contribution, which would stimulate their material interest and motivate them to constantly develop their work abilities and raise the productivity of their own labor and that of social labor, as well as adapt and subordinate to that task both the policy of all bodies of self-managing and sociopolitical communities and organizations and all measures to implement them in practice.

Achievement of the economic, necessary and proper relations between direct consumption and accumulation is at the same time the key problem in the relations between the personal and social appropriation of the workers.

Solving this problem is not only of great practical importance, but also theoretical importance to the system of associated labor, since in that system the worker figures not only as the direct producer, but also as the manager of social means of production, and thereby also as an entity appropriating those resources, that is, the fruits of his labor.

He appropriates and uses a portion of those fruits personally, and the other portion as an entity for social appropriation. When these two forms of appropriation are brought together in one and the same entity, the problem arises of the attitude of that entity in the appropriation of the social product, that is, to be more accurate, in distinguishing that part of the product which he appropriates personally from that portion which he also appropriates, but not personally, but rather as an entity for social appropriation. The problem is precisely that those two forms of appropriation are not only dependent upon one another, but they also stand in a mutual relation of contradiction, which can be favorably resolved only if in the establishment and reconciliation of

common interests, in the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, and in social self-management planning respect is paid to the objective necessities of that relationship, and the appropriate social solutions and criteria must to that end be established in conformity with economic laws.

Since the system of self-managed associated labor starts with the workers, is based on their taking command of the resources, processes and results of social reproduction and taking command of income as the basic economic motive, and since it is growing up and developing on the material and moral, personal and social interests of the worker, it is clear that the position of the workers in the production process, their mutual relations, and also their attitude toward the socially owned means of production and the results of labor and income constitute the question that is crucial to the regulation of socioeconomic relations.

In that sense it is imperative to establish those conditions, methods and instruments for implementation of the socioeconomic system which will urge the workers to constantly broaden the material base of their own labor and the labor of society, to develop society's productive forces and labor productivity and toward that end to apply and employ social resources in a manner which guarantees the socially optimum economic results and thereby also the material basis for the best possible satisfaction of the immediate needs of the working people and of society as a whole.

This would shift the emphasis in relations from voluntaristic distribution toward achievement of its proper social and economic function in the process of reproduction, toward a struggle for the creation and realization of income above all through competent work and efficient economic employment of social resources.

Guaranteeing the largest possible income and optimum accumulation within those limits of social resources for expanded reproduction must become one of the basic parameters for satisfying the direct personal needs, needs for social services and needs for government of the working people, including the budget-financed expenditure of sociopolitical communities.

#### The Price System and Price Policy

It is definitely stated in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program that we must overcome the present situation in OOUR's and in social reproduction, as well as in the social status of the workers within OOUR's, as soon as possible on behalf of the necessary future development of the productive forces as well as of the relations of socialist self-management. That is why the directions of the new solutions must start with a more thorough and comprehensive examination of the constitutionally established status, rights and responsibilities of the workers in disposition and management of the resources for social reproduction. As a matter of fact, these are issues that have to do with the functioning of the self-management system as a whole, which must take place by achieving the decisive position of the workers in that system, in the context of social ownerships and operation of the laws of commodity production.

### III

Proceeding from these realizations, based on practical experience, the League of Communists emphasizes that the following positions have particular importance to the further effort to overcome the present shortcomings in our socio-economic system and to develop it further and perfect it:

1. The conditions for the conduct of economic activity and for realization of the income of organizations of associated labor have great importance to achieving the equal status of working people and organizations of associated labor on the unified Yugoslav market. Those conditions are determined to the greatest degree by the equal position of OUR's on the market, by respect for economic laws, by relations in the prices of goods and services, by the totality of the economic system, as well as by development policy and economic policy measures.

The price system and price policy must be based on economic and market criteria that will guarantee that high productivity in the world economy will have a constructive influence on our development. All economic policy measures which influence the setting of prices or through which price controls are exercised must be based on economic criteria and the country's joint development policy based on them so as to ensure equal conditions for the conduct of economic activity on the unified Yugoslav market. In this way we should achieve and maintain harmonious price relations on economically realistic and socially justified parities, which will be the best indicator of the successful operation and business of every organization of associated labor, and thereby the material equality of the workers will also be achieved thereby. In that sense it is indispensable to clearly define the criteria of public policy and social price controls, especially concerning cases of monopoly position on the market and large disturbances on the unified Yugoslav market.

Since over a lengthy period of time spontaneous movements have brought about large disparities in prices, which have further deepened under the conditions of high inflation and which are not easy to overcome, a policy has to be worked out for gradual, but as fast as possible, establishment of real and socially justified price parities, and the measures envisaged by the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program must be taken as the point of departure.

In conformity with the goals of economic stabilization, the point of departure in elaborating and carrying out the measures of economic policy must always be respect for economic laws, criteria and rationale so that economic policy operates in the direction of economic laws, not in the opposite direction, as an expression of subjective and voluntaristic violence to them, which always shows up ultimately as harmful both from the standpoint of economic results and also to the development of self-management. Aside from that, the very process of preparation and enactment of those measures must take as its point of departure the interests of the workers in associated labor and the system of associated labor as a whole, and it must be based on their participation in making decisions concerning those measures, in conformity with their constitutional rights and duties. This means that the measures and instruments of



economic policy and the economic system must by their nature relate to and serve the development of the production relations of self-management and must operate on economic entities as a mechanism of economic coercion.

#### Personal Income on Two Bases

2. The social and material position of the workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor, their constitutional rights, obligations and responsibilities in the disposition and management of the social means of production, are manifested in their making decisions on the entirety of income and on the conditions for realizing it, as well as in the socioeconomic character of their personal incomes. It is the right of workers in OOUR's, on the basis of their labor and the management of their labor, the conditions of their labor, the results of their labor, and the entirety of relations in social reproduction, to make decisions in conformity with their constitutional responsibilities to other workers in associated labor and to the social community as a whole and to appropriate a portion of their own labor and of the entire labor of society to meet their own personal and social service needs, while at the same time they have an obligation to constantly renew, augment and advance the resources for social reproduction.

Consistent with the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, the League of Communists must insist that the criteria contained in the Law on Social Labor and social compacts be consistently respected in the distribution of income, consistent with the requirements of the optimum realization of income. It is of particular economic importance that the proper interdependence be achieved within the limits of the income realized between gross personal incomes per worker and accumulation relative to the assets employed and also between the income per worker and income relative to the assets employed. Consistent respect for the interdependence between gross personal incomes per worker and accumulation relative to the assets employed, which is objectified according to economic laws, and also the socially accepted criterion of distribution of income into accumulation and consumption, would guarantee that the workers would be motivated to link and join together the dual functions of workers in the system of socialist self-management: as producers and as managers of the resources for social reproduction.

The gross personal income per worker and accumulation relative to assets employed must be applied as the principal criteria for analyzing and evaluating economic efficiency and successful performance and the position of individual economic entities in distribution of resources for social reproduction.

Achievement of the constitutional rights and responsibilities of the workers in associated labor in making decisions concerning the distribution of income, in the context of their responsibility to one another and responsibility for distribution of income as a whole, will require more detailed elaboration and establishment of criteria and standards governing distribution so that optimum relations between personal incomes and accumulation are guaranteed.

3. If the workers are to be motivated to constantly improve both their own personal labor and also their conduct of business with social resources in the

basic organization of associated labor, the work organization and broader forms of the pooling of labor and capital, as well as in the totality of the system of the association of labor, they must personally be materially interested and motivated, consistent with the principles of distribution according to labor and the results of labor, to augment production, exports and the productivity of their own labor and the labor of workers of other OOUR's with whom they pool their labor and resources, as well as of social labor as a whole and social income, and also interested in the effective management of social resources as a whole, especially the resources for expanded reproduction.

That is precisely why the worker in associated labor should realize his personal income, as indeed has been envisaged by the constitution, on two bases: according to his personal contribution to the result of operation and business which he has made by virtue of his current labor at his work station and according to the contribution he has made to the result of operation and business, together with other workers, by virtue of management and business employment of social resources within the basic organization of associated labor and all other forms of organization of associated labor, as well as by pooling labor and resources with other organizations of associated labor. That is why appropriate changes must be made in the system and its implementation so as to guarantee that the personal income of the worker, which represents a unified whole and is a part of the income of the OOUR, is realized on those two bases.

#### Equal Personal Income for Equal Work

4. The portion of personal income based on current labor is realized in the course of the production process or the work process when the definitive results of production and business operation, although set forth in the plan, are still not known. It is paid to the workers out of the advanced social resources which the OOUR must provide for in advance in the form of working capital. Those resources are expended in the process of production, but as an integral part of the income of the OOUR they must be subsequently made up out of the income realized by that OOUR. Funds for personal incomes on that basis should be distributed among individual workers throughout the entire system of associated labor according to their personal contribution of work, i.e., on the basis of the most accurate possible estimation of the real output of their work, but also taking working conditions into account. The bases and an elaboration of those criteria should be set forth in social compacts adopted at the national level, social compacts in the republics and provinces, and the corresponding self-management accords. Particular consideration should be paid here to finding the criteria and specific solutions which will make the workers interested in the results of business operation, in the best possible work of professional management and the joint staff services, on whom social verification of the results of the work of the workers depends to a large degree.

That portion of personal income should also include in its gross amount the portion of contributions paid out of personal incomes as well as those resources which the workers are setting aside to satisfy the needs for social services in their own organization, which are related to the reproduction of manpower.



With respect to this portion of personal income, that would guarantee all workers in associated labor approximately the same personal income for the same quality and quantity of labor and the results of labor, accompanied by tolerable differences in personal incomes from one republic or province to another, in conformity with social compacts and self-management accords, but also in view of differences in the level of their economic development and their average labor productivity. Because of the differing position of workers in OOUR's and workers in work communities of staff services and the professional management and because of the differing scales and methods in ascertaining the contribution of the two groups to the income realized by the OOUR and work organization, that is, by the OUR as a whole, in conformity with the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor there is a need to work out those relations and bring them into conformity with the basic normative acts so as to create the joint bases for formation of that portion of personal incomes of the workers of the staff services and professional management. This is one of the conditions for working out those relations in associated labor in a manner consistent with self-management and of preventing conflicts in associated labor and in society at large.

When the contributions of workers in the work communities of staff services and also professional management are being ascertained, a particular appraisal should be made as to whether and to what extent, in applying the principle of the free exchange of labor and in establishing the income of the worker community on the basis of joint work plans and development plans and joint income, they have contributed to the performance of their own tasks, to the organization and advancement of production and work, to taking command of the market, to the regular supply of the relevant raw materials and production supplies, and to providing other conditions for the normal production and operation of organizations of associated labor.

If it is later found that the OOUR is unable from the income realized to reimburse the resources expended for that portion of personal incomes paid out, they are made up from the reserve fund (of associated labor or of the opstina or the republic and province). In that case an immediate determination is to be made of the reasons why this has occurred and emergency financial rescue measures are to be taken, but such an organization is also to be liquidated if this proves to be necessary.

The aim is not to allow any lasting existence of organizations of associated labor which do not have income to cover the level of personal incomes of workers necessary for their existence and security, as determined by the established scales in social compacts and self-management accords. The monitoring of the movements of that portion of personal incomes and the furnishing of the relevant resources to pay them both to the workers of the OOUR and the workers of the work community of staff services and professional management should make it possible to spot problems in good time and prevent occurrence of situations which could bring about unjustified differences in personal income which can no longer be adjusted in year-end statements, as well as the occurrence of situations which could make the OUR incapable of paying personal incomes to the workers entitled to them, and this is also a condition for avoiding conflicts with professional management within the OUR as well as broader conflicts in society at large.

## Dependence Upon the Economic Results of OUR's

5. The second portion of the workers' personal income should be realized, accounted for in the books and paid to the workers on the basis of the economic performance of the organization of associated labor in which they work and the contributions which they have made by the management of operation and conduct of business with the resources of society in the organizations of associated labor in which they work and by pooling labor and capital with other organizations of associated labor, also taking into account, once the portion of income resulting from operation under exceptionally favorable or other conditions has been set aside (Article 18 of the SFRY Constitution), the capital generated relative to the resources of society employed, which is to be taken as a basic standard of measurement. The workers realize that portion of personal income only in the case of successful management of the resources of society and in proportion to that success, but in accordance with criteria which have been publicly adopted, whereby it figures as an indicator of the workers' authentic results in exercising the rights of social ownership to the resources which they themselves dispose of and manage.

It is absolutely necessary to examine and regulate separately the relations between the workers of OOUR's and the workers of joint staff services, work communities and professional management of the OUR as a whole, and another separate group would be those of the banks and insurance institutions, economic chambers, etc., from the standpoint of realizing personal incomes on the basis of management of resources for social reproduction, the pooling of labor and capital with other organizations, the proposal of production programs, investment decisions, etc. It would also be indispensable to set down the bases and scales for evaluation of their work and contribution to successful business operation and development of individual OOUR's, work organizations and complex organizations of associated labor. That would be an essential condition for combating leveling and for speedily overcoming idleness and for strengthening responsibility, initiative and efficiency in the work of the staff services and professional management.

In view of the nature of work in the social services, the second portion of personal income would be realized in a specific manner adapted to the nature of the work and to relations in those activities. One criterion that might be applied is the overall growth of accumulation of social resources in sociopolitical communities, the effectiveness in use of the resources the workers work with in those activities, and the specific results in their business operation.

The personal incomes of the workers in government administration and sociopolitical organizations, including officeholders, must also be handled on the basis of results of their current and past labor, subject to the appropriate criteria which would be established.

In this way all workers in associated labor would be motivated to employ the resources of their work as optimally as possible and also to strive in their work for an optimum increase in the rate of capital generation of the economy within the sociopolitical community.

6. It has to be set down in public criteria jointly agreed to and instituted by self-management enactments that the personal income derived from current labor meet the needs of normal reproduction of the workers' ability to work and must guarantee their material and social security in proportion to their actual work contribution.

Accordingly, and consistent with the nature of our socioeconomic system of self-management, payments of resources from the income of the basic organization of associated labor for that portion of personal income of workers in associated labor which is based on their contribution by virtue of current labor at their work station should have priority over all other payments and should be omitted from the base used for the income tax and those contributions which are not part of gross personal income.

Establishment of that kind of priority, whereby the material and social security of the workers would be put in first place, shall not jeopardize the existing categories of income and net income, which are relevant above all to exercising rights and discharging responsibilities in the workers' decision-making in the domain of distribution.

The social compact on the joint bases and scales for self-management regulation of relations in the realization and distribution of income in the SFRY has taken a significant step forward in establishing the bases for implementing the commitments which have been adopted in this area. The effort should be continued and speeded up to operationalize that compact since it will have to be supplemented on the basis of the positions of the LCY Central Committee and also the social commitments arrived at in conformity with those positions.

#### Initiating the Process of Pooling Labor and Capital

7. Ensuring the economic motivation and economic coercion of the workers and of all economic and social entities for optimum growth of social resources for expanded reproduction will among other things open up channels and processes for the pooling of labor and capital among organizations of associated labor throughout the entire economic space of Yugoslavia and also the optimum circulation of social resources for development.

To that end it is absolutely necessary to elaborate more specifically and adopt regulations which will stimulate those processes to the fullest and motivate the workers to invest the available resources of their organizations, in the framework of pooling labor and capital, where their investment will realize the relatively largest income, which would be both in their own interest and in the general interest of society.

When the workers' general disposition of the income realized, and this also applies to disposition on the basis of investment of resources in other organizations of associated labor, does not signify their arbitrary distribution of the income realized, and when there is no opportunity to arbitrarily siphon off the augmented resources of accumulation into direct consumption, there is no danger that differences in the realization of income will essentially differentiate the material and social position of workers in associated labor nor violate their equal rights in the disposition of the resources of society.

8. When on the foundations which have been set forth the interests of the workers are directly bound up with realizing larger income also to meet the needs of appropriation and optimum use of resources for expanded reproduction, thereby also discharging their responsibility in the disposition of those resources, it will then be possible and considerably easier for them to take control of those resources and to bring into being a system for the formation, circulation, pooling and use of accumulation that corresponds both to economic laws and to the basic principles of socialist self-management.

In that context it is extremely important to implement consistently the conclusions of the 16th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee and the position adopted by its 17th meeting with respect to relieving the burden on the income of OUR's in the economy, that is, ensuring a redistribution of income to the economy's advantage, an increase in the economy's share in the distribution of income, and a reduction of its indebtedness, as well as a financial consolidation of the economy.

Significant changes will also be necessary in the direction of further constitutional transformation of the banks and the banking, credit and monetary system\* as well as consistent performance of the role of the National Bank and note issue policy. Their purpose is to consistently achieve socioeconomic relations in which it will not be possible for the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities to usurp the constitutional rights of the workers in associated labor, who should decide in full measure concerning the resources for social reproduction which are concentrated in the banks and other financial institutions. The principal purpose of transforming the banking system, although it is still the function of the banks to assemble the available resources of natural and juridical persons for lending in accordance with the criteria of the banking business, should be for associated labor, through the banks, to become more and more a factor for stimulation and development of the relations of pooling labor and capital with the principal purpose of optimum growth of the resources of society. That is the best way of overcoming all the manifestations of disintegration and of essentially advancing the necessary processes of integration in associated labor and in the social community in general. In that context there will be an indispensable need for appropriate organization and effective functioning of commercial and national banks.

Consistent with the positions of the 17th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, there is a need to study the problem of the differences that exist between lending and borrowing rates of interest in the banks and to undertake as speedily as possible to solve the problem of working capital along the lines of the stabilization program and the conclusions and positions of the 16th and 17th Meetings of the LCY Central Committee. Particular efforts are needed on the part of subjective factors for achievement of greater financial discipline and external and internal liquidity, for the most urgent resolution of the issue of covering differences in rates of exchange, and also for consistent adherence to and enforcement of contacts, self-management accords and agreements.

\* When the meeting of the LCY Central Committee is prepared, a check will be made on elaboration of the credit, banking and monetary system, and if it should prove to be necessary, specific proposals of positions to be taken in this field will be prepared.

9. Successful resolution of the relationship between consumption and accumulation and the financial motivation of the workers to strive for optimum generation of capital and efficient use of social resources as a whole and resources for expanded reproduction in particular will create the decisive prerequisite that does not now exist for the workers to truly take command of income and resources for social reproduction with which they work, and thereby take charge also of the function of planning the development of their own organizations of associated labor and of social planning as a whole.

There cannot in fact be self-management social planning unless the workers take command of resources for social reproduction. They cannot become the decisive entity in planning development unless they are the decisive factor in disposition of resources for development. And conversely, when it is seen that they are taking command of those resources, by the same token they will also be taking charge of the function of the self-management planning of the development of their own organizations, which has essential importance to the establishment and successful functioning of the entire system of self-management social planning.

In the absence of that basic prerequisite, as the present situation demonstrates, the right of the workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor to give direction to the flows of social reproduction through an effective system of self-management planning is not even exercised. The plans of organizations of associated labor are no longer turned toward the planning of investment projects, but rather count on the resources decided upon by sociopolitical communities, and to a lesser degree are they an instrument for pooling labor and capital and for optimizing income, or agreements on division of labor within the country and economically justified correction of the adverse consequences of the haphazard operation of the market.

Under those conditions planning does not proceed from real resources, conditions and potential, it is not based on respect for the objective necessities and economic laws, it takes on the character of an arbitrary forecast and wishful thinking, and as a rule the plans are not fulfilled.

Mastery of resources for social reproduction by the workers, which is the basic prerequisite for successful and effective self-management planning, will in turn make it possible to successfully achieve the other essential conditions for the shaping and successful functioning of the entire system of self-management social planning. Within it the following have particular importance: exercise of the constitutional rights, discharge of the obligations and pursuit of the interests of the basic entities in the system of planning, in the procedure for enactment and fulfillment of plans and for the discharge of the obligations contained in plans; enhancement of the responsibility of workers within OOUR's and the working people in other self-managing organizations and communities and their bodies of self-management and other bodies for fulfillment of plans for operation and development of their own organizations and communities, as well as the general goals and tasks set forth in the social plans of opstinas, republics and provinces, and the Federation; more decisive affirmation and creation of broader social prerequisites for the operation of economic laws and the market, as well as opening up the possibility

for the world price and productivity and quality of performance of the economically advanced countries to exert a direct impact on conditions for the conduct of economic activity in accordance with the choice of the development strategy and the strategy for inclusion in the international division of labor; clear definition of the role, function and responsibility of opstinas, republics, provinces and the Federation in the planning system; enhancement of the planning function in the field of the economic infrastructure, organized in the form of large unified technological systems; participation and responsibility of professional and scientific institutions in analyzing the situation and projections of future development on the basis of respect for economic laws, examination and projection of global needs and potential for development of the economy and other social services in sociopolitical communities, and implementation of the principle of "bottom up" and "top down" counterplanning.

10. One of the essential problems in the decisionmaking of the workers concerning income and resources for social reproduction arises in connection with the functioning and development of organizations of associated labor within the economic infrastructure, which need to operate basically as businesses.

Development of the fuel and power industry and transportation, water management and other similar activities, which are regarded as activities of particular public interest, has to the greatest degree been under the direct influence and decisionmaking of the bodies of sociopolitical communities. There has not been organized self-management activity of associated labor in regulating relations in this sector consistent with the mutual rights, interests and responsibilities and with operation of the market and economic laws to the extent that is possible and necessary. The funds for expanded reproduction of these activities are still established above all and to an excessive extent by mandatory pooling, and they are not to a sufficient degree realized through accumulation out of the income of organizations in those activities and through self-management pooling of labor and capital.

One of the essential prerequisites for resolving problems in this sector is broader introduction of economic criteria, development of the relations of free exchange of labor of working people in organizations of associated labor using and rendering services in this sector, reduction of the functions of bodies of sociopolitical communities in practice to constitutional powers and affirmation of the necessary long-term planning of the development of these activities, as well as achievement on self-management foundations of the necessary technological and economic unity of the various activities of the economic infrastructures within the country, timely establishment of joint bases of development policy for the various activities and establishment of joint bases and scales for self-management organization of basic and other organizations of associated labor within these activities.

It is essential in all of this that the basic condition for realizing income in organizations of associated labor in the economic infrastructure be subject to the effect of market laws and that every correction of the uniform and equal conditions of their development on the unified Yugoslav market be defined in agreements on the bases of the country's joint development policy and



in self-management accords and agreements concerning the development plans of those activities.

#### Income Derived From Exceptional Advantages

11. Under the SFRY Constitution (Article 18) the portion of income which is the result of operation under exceptionally favorable natural conditions or derived from exceptional advantages on the market or other exceptional advantages in the realization of income is to be used, in accordance with a self-management accord and law, to develop the organization of associated labor in the opstina and republic or province. The portion of that income which remains at the disposition of the organization of associated labor in which it was realized must be regarded as an integral part of its net income, but earmarked exclusively for development of the material basis of operation.

It is accordingly necessary to ascertain why over a lengthy period of time solutions have not been found for this extremely urgent and complicated problem, to identify the resistance and the kinds of difficulties that stand in the way of urgently working out a set of instruments in the economic system which would identify the existence and regulate the use of that portion of income which is based on exceptional advantages.

The portion of that income of associated labor which is earmarked for development of the material basis of operation in the opstina or in the republic or autonomous province should be set aside and used on the basis of criteria set forth in law. In that sense it is indispensable to seize income derived from rent in cities and other advantages resulting from the favorable location of certain commercial real estate and to earmark it for the development of the material basis of the city, and above all for building the municipal economic infrastructure.

More decisive efforts have to be undertaken to study the problems of income derived from holding property and income derived from exceptional market conditions in our context and to identify those entities realizing such income and those which are to seize it.

12. Slowness and inconsistency in implementing the constitutional principle that workers in associated labor are to take control of that portion of income which they set aside to meet the needs for social services and to develop the social services have to be overcome more resolutely.

This is also an essential prerequisite for higher efficiency in the work of workers in the fields of education, science, culture, health care and other social services, for higher quality in meeting the needs of the working people and citizens in those areas, for achieving the equal socioeconomic position of the working people in those activities with workers in material production, and for achieving the constitutional status of the workers in associated labor in general and in those activities in particular.

To that end there is a need not only to strengthen the material basis of self-management in the domain of material production and for the workers to take

command of the totality of income and resources for social reproduction, but also for local communities and opstinas to develop adequately, above all as self-governing communities of working people and citizens to solve those problems which have a bearing on the life of the workers, on their housing conditions, municipal services, utilities and other conditions.

Relations of free exchange of labor between those rendering and those receiving social services should be achieved through appropriate changes and refinements in the features of the system. In this connection there will certainly be a continuing need in the future to establish in the appropriate self-managing communities of interest amounts of mandatory contributions from gross personal incomes and from the income of organizations of associated labor to be earmarked for meeting the needs of the working people for education, science, culture, health care and social welfare. Introduction of the principle of the gross personal income will make it clear to every worker what amount of resources are being set aside from his net personal income for those purposes.

Meanwhile, instruments must be found to overcome the present fiscal nature of those contributions and the intermediation of sociopolitical communities, which tends to perpetuate the conception that these activities represent an expenditure rather than an essential factor of production and a factor in developing social consciousness. If success is to be achieved in this, wherever and insofar as it is possible provision should be made for those mandatory contributions to be set aside for altogether specified purposes, and the workers who appropriate those funds would have an opportunity to use one portion to cover the expenditures of those rendering the services in the various fields of social service through the relations of direct exchange of labor, while the other portion would be pooled within the framework of the relevant self-managing communities of interest or through them; that is also a way of overcoming the present practice of establishing mandatory assessments.

Conclusion of self-management accords on an equal footing should be developed in the self-managing communities of interest between the organizations of associated labor rendering the social services and those receiving them not only concerning the volume, quality and price of the services, but also concerning the various forms of pooling labor and capital between those organizations of associated labor, that is, within the self-managing community of interest itself, insofar as the very nature of the services makes this the only functional or most expedient solution. In that way the workers in associated labor would themselves dispose of a portion of the resources to meet their own needs for the social services, but the other portion of those resources would also be subject to their oversight. Along with the benefits in taking control of that portion of their income, as users of the social services the workers would be motivated to become involved in the right way and to be more active in delegate relations concerning adoption of decisions in the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest.

Specific solutions should be sought for science, proceeding on the principle that science is a subjective force and factor of production and that it is absolutely necessary to achieve adequate self-management concentration of resources for its development.



Mechanisms also have to be built up for closer linkage of republic and provincial communities for science on the basis of joint long-range projects.

#### Changes in the Tax System and Tax Policy

13. In accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, further changes are indispensable in the tax system and tax policy in order to strengthen the accumulative and reproductive capability of the economy by reducing assessments for government, especially by reducing assessments for the excessive and inefficient social overhead and administration. It has to be seen that the workers in associated labor actually do make the decisions on appropriation of resources for those purposes and violations and evasions of the constitutional principles and standards in this area, as well as cases of exceeding the limits on the setting of those obligations, have to be prevented.

On the whole an effort has to be made toward consistent realization in practice of agreements at the federal level concerning the tax system and tax policy, above all by adopting specific decisions in opstinas, republics and provinces, accompanied by the necessary further adaptation of these agreements to conform to real needs and the positions adopted in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program and the 16th and 17th Meetings of the LCY Central Committee.

The following are indispensable to that end: enhancing the economic and social welfare function of the turnover tax; enhancing the role of the direct tax as compared to indirect taxes; in the case of the income tax make the OOUR and the work community the taxpayer, and the base of that tax should be income up to the limits established in the constitution for establishment of obligations, for financing social services and government, in accordance with the economic strength of the taxpayers, with the purpose of reducing differences in social welfare through the policy of taxation. The positions adopted in this area by the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program need to be operationalized as soon as possible.

It is indispensable to establish and elaborate instruments in the economic system, especially in the tax system and financial system, that would definitely link the budget-financed expenditure of all sociopolitical communities more directly to the growth of income and strengthened accumulative and reproductive capacity of the economy.

14. Consistent with the positions which have been set forth and on their basis, it is necessary to reassess, amend and supplement laws, social compacts and self-management accords, other legal institutions and economic mechanisms whereby rights and responsibilities are established with respect to the management and use of social resources so as to guarantee full exercise of constitutional rights and full discharge of obligations and responsibilities of the workers in organizations of associated labor, and then the exercise of rights and discharge of duties of other social entities which influence the disposition and management of social resources, and especially the discharge of economic responsibility for successful management of social resources as a whole.

In addition to these necessary activities to eliminate the present shortcomings and to guarantee further development of our socioeconomic system, under our present conditions it is also extremely important to take measures in current economic policy and in production itself so that all economic flows are sound and stable, so that organizations of associated labor become capable of reproduction of real values and of making real calculations, of operating and developing normally and successfully on the foundations of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management.

15. Achievement of the constitutional position of the workers in the disposition of income and resources for social reproduction does not depend solely on development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management, but also on the sociopolitical relations, that is, on the entirety of the system of socialist self-management.

The changes proposed in socioeconomic relations also have decisive importance to motivating the workers in associated labor to become more actively and successfully involved in all the processes of self-management and political decisionmaking consistent with their constitutional rights and duties. This would bring about one of the most essential prerequisites for the more successful functioning of the political system of socialist self-management and the delegate, assembly system in particular. It is especially important that when decisions of importance to the use of income are being made in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities--from opstinas to the Federation, that the interests and views of the workers in OUR's and their rights to make decisions concerning the totality of income be fully manifested in the right way, through delegate channels. Chambers of associated labor should have a special role and responsibility in making decisions which affect the creation and distribution of income.

The measures that will be proposed on the basis of critical analysis of the functioning of the political system in order to overcome the shortcomings found and in order to accomplish changes or improvements of certain features of the system will be operating in the same direction. It is especially important to consistently implement the constitutional provisions which pertain to self-management organization and decisionmaking of the workers in associated labor, the status and function of the OOUR, as well as relations among OOUR's within the work organization or complex organization of associated labor, to the competence and responsibility of self-management and professional-management and the staff services within organizations of associated labor, to the more successful functioning of the delegate assembly system, and to exercising the constitutional powers and rights and discharging the responsibilities of the bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities.

The exercise of the constitutional rights of the workers within OOUR's along with implementation of the constitutional provisions concerning the rights and duties of the working people and citizens within local communities is an essential prerequisite for the more successful accomplishment of the constitutional status and functions of the opstina as the basic sociopolitical community. That status of the opstina is in turn essentially important to the general status of the workers in associated labor and in society as a whole and

also to the exercise of their constitutional rights and discharge of their constitutional duties.

The future development and improvement of our political system on the foundations set forth in the constitution will in turn make an essential contribution to the achievement and consolidation of the constitutional status of the workers in associated labor and thereby also to the development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management.

#### IV

The totality of the proposed changes and additions to socioeconomic relations are aimed at removing the principal shortcomings that have been detected in our socioeconomic system, which have prevented its successful functioning in practice and the effectuation of its advantages, and they have been a threat to its very foundations. Those amendments and supplements are based precisely on those foundations, and together with the entirety of those basic features of socioeconomic relations which are remaining in effect, since experience has fully confirmed them, they open up new opportunities in development of the system of associated labor and socialist self-management. The importance of these new proposals lies precisely in the fact that they are turned toward the workers in associated labor as the decisive protagonist in our social system, that they are aimed at guaranteeing achievement of their constitutional status, rights, obligations and responsibilities in the disposition and management of resources for social reproduction.

Their implementation would be an essential contribution to resolving the contradiction in the present stage of our socialist revolution and to opening up further prospects for development of socialist self-management, as well as for faster and more successful material and social development in general. This will at the same time bring about important changes in both the consciousness and behavior of the working people and all economic and social entities in practice itself.

The reference is to changes which have decisive importance to achieving the truly dominant position of the working class. That is why it is extremely important that the workers understand the purpose and significance of these changes, so that they not only support them, but indeed adopt them as their own goals and make them the main battlefield of their own struggle and efforts.

This points up the particular responsibility of the League of Communists and Trade Union Federation, which, as instruments of the working class, must draft and carry out programs of activities on the broadest scale in order to guarantee the full success of these new undertakings, which have great importance to the further development of our society.

Since this struggle for a new and essential breakthrough of socialist self-management and for achievement of the system of associated labor can be waged successfully and won only as the direct activity of the working class itself, it is clear that the Trade Union Federation, as the most numerous organization,

and the League of Communists, as the vanguard of the working class, must play an irreplaceable role in that struggle.

It should be borne in mind that we are referring here to the political-ideological positions of the LC and that their operationalization will require the active participation of the relevant social and self-management authorities, with the very broad involvement of science.

#### Supporting Arguments for the Draft of Positions To Be Taken by the LCY Central Committee

In working out its conceptions of the development of a socialist society the League of Communists of Yugoslavia recorded in its Program: "only the socioeconomic interest of the working class and the working people who are producing with the socially owned means of production and the socialist consciousness based on that interest can be the major and lasting initiator of social progress." Pointing to the basic social force which is the vehicle for development of socialist social relations, the LCY Program especially emphasizes that "the working class cannot realize its own material interests and perform its historic role if it does not fight at the same time for development of the productive forces" and that "the socialist forces can triumph only if they operate in accordance with objective laws of development."

From that standpoint the LCY Program asserts that "the key problem and primary task of the conscious socialist forces is to bring about forms in which the new socialist socioeconomic relations will be manifested at the base of society, that is, the kind of specific economic and political development of the basic cells of socialist society, the basic factors of socialist developments in the mechanism for management of social production and distribution, and also in establishing the economic policy of society as a whole."

In this connection the LCY Program states: "At the present level of development of the material forces--the laws of commodity production are operative even in the economic system of Yugoslavia. So long as commodity production is objectively necessary, failure to honor the law of value and other laws of the market does not strengthen, but weakens socialist elements in the economy, hampers the initiative of individuals and enterprises, checks the development of the productive forces, and engenders forces outside production which commit violence to it."

In its program the League of Communists of Yugoslavia committed itself to a system in which "everyone works according to his abilities and in which the personal income of individuals and the conditions for development of production organizations depend on the intensity and quality of their work and their success in business operation--every effort of individual producers and of the entire work collective toward stronger satisfaction of their own material needs through more productive labor and better business operation of enterprises at the same time represents an effort to benefit the general interests of society and the faster overall progress of society." On the basis of those commitments the LCY Program draws an extremely important conclusion: "Only if that interest of the direct producers is awakened and transformed into the

basic material factor of economic progress can there be maximum success of planned and regulatory measures which the community as a whole consciously undertakes on behalf of the guidance of economic development, advancement of production, development of the productive forces and also further development of socialist social relations."

Those programmatic commitments of the LCY contain the essence of its political-ideological strategy and revolutionary struggle. In its struggle for those commitments the League of Communists has passed through several phases of development of socialist self-management, has achieved success and accomplished progress, but it has also necessarily confronted many contradictions in that development and has encountered new problems which it has had to resolve and serious difficulties which have had to be overcome. It has become clear that achievement of the programmatic goals of the League of Communists depends crucially on transferring the resources for social reproduction from the hands of the state into the hands of the direct producers, establishment of socioeconomic relations in which the workers will themselves dispose of and manage those resources in self-managed work organizations.

The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program Elucidated the Numerous Objective and Subjective Causes of the Disturbances

The League of Communists boldly undertook to achieve such relations as early as two decades ago, and all the essential theoretical and practical questions which would arise along that road could not have been clarified in advance.

It has become clear that on the basis of the new practical experience which has been gained there must be a fuller and more comprehensive examination of the type of socioeconomic relations and the forms of the self-management organization of the workers if the programmatic goals of the LCY are to be achieved more successfully. The answers to those questions which have been worked out were supplied slightly more than a decade ago when the new SFRY Constitution was adopted and the 10th LCY Congress issued its decisions.

Pointing to the nature of production relations in associated labor, the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution state the following:

"The foundation of these relations is the socioeconomic status of the workingman which guarantees him that in his work with the socially owned resources and in making decisions on his own and on an equal footing with other working people in associated labor concerning all the affairs of social reproduction under the conditions and in relations of mutual dependence, responsibility and solidarity, he pursues his personal material and moral interest and exercises the right to use the results of his current and past labor and the achievements of overall material and social progress in order to satisfy as fully as possible on that basis his own personal needs and the needs of society and to develop his work abilities and other creative capacities."

It then states: "the right of the workingman to enjoy the fruits of his labor and the material progress of the social community according to the principle: 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor,' goes

hand in hand with the obligation 'to ensure the development of the material foundation of his own labor and that of society and to contribute to the satisfaction of other social needs.'"

These initial basic principles for regulation of production relations in the system of associated labor are elaborated somewhat more definitely in the following principles of the constitution:

"The worker in associated labor with socially owned resources has the right to work with the resources of society as his own inalienable right to work with those resources in order to satisfy his own personal needs and the needs of society and, by virtue of his freedom and equality with other workers in associated labor, the right to manage his own labor and the conditions and results of his labor." (Article 13, Paragraph 1)

"In exercising the right to work with the resources of society, the workers in associated labor are responsible to one another to use those resources in a manner that is socially and economically expedient, in their common interest and in the general interest of society, and to constantly renew, augment and advance those resources as the material basis of their own labor and the labor of the entire society, and also to consciously discharge their own work obligations." (Article 15)

Thus defining the status of the workers in associated labor, the constitution spells out their personal material rights:

"Every worker, consistent with the principle of distribution according to work and the rise of the productivity of his own and total social labor and with the principle of solidarity of workers in associated labor, shall be entitled to a personal income from the income of the basic organization of associated labor to meet his own personal needs, needs for social services and needs for government, according to the results of his labor and the personal contribution which he has made through his current and past labor to augmenting the income of the basic organization." (Article 20)

"In guaranteeing every worker in associated labor with the resources of society a personal income and other rights on the basis of labor at least in the amount or volume which ensure his material and social security." (Article 22)

These are the principles and provisions of the SFRY Constitution which set forth the bases for production relations in associated labor. Those principles and provisions cannot be jeopardized even today if the point of departure is truly the essential commitments to the system of associated labor and socialist self-management. Practical experience has not contested them in any way or to any extent, but critical analysis of the operation of our social system has confirmed the need for them to be consistently implemented.

However, even when the constitution was adopted, people were aware that these provisions still did not in and of themselves guarantee that the relations set forth in the constitution would actually come about in practice.

Experience has shown that this has not yet been achieved and that there have been grave disturbances in the flows of social reproduction precisely because the relations in production and distribution set forth in the constitution have not been established. The Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program shed light on the numerous objective and subjective causes of those disturbances.

In the context of the serious economic difficulties we have fallen into, the need for us to use the measures of administrative intervention on a broad scale has to some extent been imposed upon us. This has again broadened the space to statism and technocracy, while the constitutional rights, duties and responsibilities of the workers in the disposition of resources for social reproduction have actually remained cramped.

#### The Lag in the System's Development

This is one of the main reasons why there has been such arbitrariness in the management of resources for social reproduction and in the distribution of the social product, resulting on a broad scale in distortion of the social relations based on the economic status of the workers set forth in the constitution, in spite of the position adopted in the constitution: "Every form of management of production and other social activities and every form of distribution which distort the social relations based on that position of man--in the form of bureaucratic tyranny, technocratic usurpation and privileges based on monopoly of management of the means of production, or in the form of appropriation of the resources of society on a group-ownership basis, and other forms of privatization of those resources, or in the form of private-ownership or particularistic selfishness, as well as every other form of restriction of the working class from performing its historical role in socioeconomic and political relations and in organizing government for itself and for all the working people is contrary to the socioeconomic and political system set forth in this constitution." And all those manifestations contrary to the constitution have been happening to us not only as isolated incidents, but on a disturbing scale.

The economic crisis, and especially the high rate of inflation, which is the most drastic form it takes, have had significant social and political consequences. There has been a considerable drop in the standard of living and major material difficulties, especially for certain categories of workers in associated labor and especially in production activities. At the same time there have been strong social differentiations and the widespread phenomenon of enrichment not resulting from work but from socially unacceptable forms of appropriation of the results of someone else's labor.

The high rate of unemployment, which is hurting the young generation most, is among the most serious social problems. This long-term problem has become considerably more acute in recent years, and the number of persons seeking employment has now passed 1 million.

The principal reasons for the serious difficulties and shortcomings in decisionmaking by delegate assemblies and occurrences of blockage in the



functioning of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical system of socialist self-management lie in the failure to achieve the status of the workers in associated labor set forth in the constitution. Not only has it been unable to reproduce itself on its own, but its development has even come to a standstill. That is why the situation must be turned around as soon as possible in the direction of a further strengthening of socialist self-management, since otherwise there would be extremely serious consequences for the social productivity of labor and socioeconomic development, and the very foundations of our system would in fact be threatened.

The dimensions and seriousness of the economic crisis, along with the other social and political consequences of the situation that had come about, imposed the need for the most thorough and profound critical assessment and clarification of the reasons which brought the situation about and for adopting on that basis a program to overcome the economic crisis and stabilize economic developments. This task was accomplished by adoption of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program.

#### What Has Been Done

The following positions taken in this program are especially important to successful achievement of the production relations and constitutional rights of the workers in associated labor:

- i. the strengthening of the workers' role in decisionmaking concerning expanded reproduction and also the strengthening of the reproductive capability of organizations of associated labor "depends on the relations which are established in the determination and division and distribution of income and net income";
- ii. this presupposes "realistic reproduction of resources expended, that is, realistic determination of income," as well as a division and distribution of income so as to guarantee certain proportions among the resources for personal consumption, community consumption and general public consumption and the resources for expansion and advancement of the material basis of operation, and it presupposes that those proportions will not depend solely on the burden imposed by "various assessments and contributions of a portion of income to satisfy the need for social services and government," but also on the distribution of net income within organizations of associated labor themselves;
- iii. relations in the division of net income and in the distribution of resources for personal incomes should be regulated "in accordance with the internal logic of the system of self-management," i.e., so as to ensure thereby "the basic motivation for the worker's attitude toward his work and for economically and socially optimum management of the operation and business of the organization," since this is crucial to "how the workers will look toward their socioeconomic status, which is the only thing that can provide the adequate social foundation for harmonious and stable social and material development, that is, to how ready they will be themselves to fight for that position of theirs--to become the principal entity in social reproduction, to take charge of income as a whole and to decide concerning the totality of relations in social reproduction";



iv. resources for personal and social service consumption of the workers should correspond to the results of their work and to their contribution--by their current and past labor--to the growth of income, but they may not be in direct proportion to the size of the income realized, nor indeed to net income; in and of itself the "absolute size of income, i.e., independently of the conditions under which it was realized, does not provide a measure for its division," since "the new value in social production is not realized as the income of individual organizations of associated labor on the same foundations on which distribution according to work is based," or in other words--income is not realized in the basic organization of associated labor solely on the basis of the work of the workers in that organization;

v. "the division and distribution of income is not and cannot be an accidental relationship, but must be a socially regulated relation in which resources for personal incomes are not an arbitrarily determined quantity, nor may resources for development of the material basis of operation be regarded as a remainder of income in the sense of some kind of residue ...";

vi. "relations in the division of net income and in distribution of resources for personal incomes, as an extremely important part of the uniform system of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management, must themselves be socially regulated on uniform foundations," which "has not been consistently implemented in practice."

In concluding these extremely important positions, the Stabilization Program stresses the following:

"... the success and pace in carrying out this program depends on the extent to which the relations in division of income and distribution of resources for personal incomes motivate the workers to become more active as the principal entities in economic and socially optimum decisionmaking concerning the conditions and results of their labor. That is why the task of adding to and improving relations in that area should be taken up without delay and with full responsibility."

That defined the key problem and most crucial task in the fight to implement the Stabilization Program. Unfortunately, the decisive step has not yet been taken in accomplishing that task, and the positions of the stabilization program which have been presented are not being carried out. It is true that certain steps have been taken in that direction.

Certain agreements and legal enactments have been adopted: the Agreement on the Joint Bases and Scales for Self-Management Regulation of Relations in the Realization and Distribution of Income; the Agreement of the Republics and Provinces on the Bases of the Tax System and Tax Policy; the Law on Determination of Gross Income and Income; and the Law on Prices. However, the agreements and enactments adopted, in which the Stabilization Program was the point of departure, are still not fully accomplishing the basic goals of that program, and in the absence of other essential features of the economic system and of development policy and economic policy it is not possible to bring about essential changes in production relations and in the system of social reproduction.

The consequences of this situation are manifested not only in the relatively weak accumulative capability of our economy, but--still worse--also in the fact that the producers, the economic and social entities, have neither been forced nor materially motivated to achieve optimum utilization of social capital on behalf of the fastest possible rise of labor productivity, output, income, accumulation and development of the new productive forces, and on that basis a growth of direct consumption and the personal and social standard of living of the working people as well.

#### The Principle of Distribution According to Work Is Seriously Threatened

The present relations in distribution are not in accord with objective economic necessities and laws, and they are seriously threatening the principles of socialist distribution according to work. Those criteria of socialist distribution have been displaced in practice, and the real relations of distribution to a large degree divert attention from the struggle for higher productivity, for more successful and optimum economic activity, for optimum utilization of social capital, and that accounts for the resulting adverse effect on production itself and on social reproduction as a whole.

The workers in basic and other organizations of associated labor, and especially in the domain of material production, are making decisions about a very small portion of resources for social reproduction, and they are not exercising control over a larger portion of the resources for social reproduction (approximately 60 percent), concerning which the actual decisions are made by the bodies of sociopolitical communities in collusion with banks and other financial organizations. Sociopolitical communities find the basis for relations of that kind in the constitutional powers concerning the exceptional possibility of mandatory placement of the resources of organizations of associated labor in time deposits, and they derive them from their own functions insofar as they are not in accord with the actual constitutional authorization. Decisionmaking concerning a very large volume of resources for social reproduction, above all concerning expanded reproduction, in bodies and agencies of sociopolitical communities and other institutions related to them and alienated from associated labor, without clear economic responsibility and in the face of economic logic, is not only a source of usurpation of the self-management rights of the workers, but also the cause of the high inefficiency in utilization of social resources and of difficult problems in the way things have been developing in social reproduction. That situation has spontaneously and gradually been imposed precisely because the question of responsible discharge of the obligations of the workers in organizations of associated labor in their disposition of income and especially in setting aside resources for expanded reproduction and in the management of those resources has not been sufficiently debated or decided. Spontaneous development in the flows of reproduction which have occurred as a consequence of those shortcomings in the system have been used as a justification, and to a considerable extent have in fact made administrative interventions necessary, resulting in statist usurpation of the self-management rights of the workers. That usurpation can, then, be overcome only if additions to the system completely guarantee responsible exercise of the rights and discharge of the obligations of the workers in the disposition and management of social resources and especially the resources for expanded reproduction.

If that kind of situation is truly to be thoroughly changed through consistent practical implementation of the principles and provisions of the constitution, the League of Communists has to resolutely oppose every attempt to contest or indeed even to reject the positions and commitments of the LCY, the constitution and the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. Those positions should not only be fully affirmed and supported, but they need also to be thoroughly elucidated with respect to theory and elaborated as soon as possible in the form of binding social and self-management norms; that is, their practical accomplishment has to be guaranteed.

The League of Communists must commit itself much more definitely, specifically and clearly to a line which will not only advocate in declarative terms the basic constitutional principles and provisions and the essential positions taken in the Stabilization Program, but will also guarantee their full accomplishment in practice.

In that sense there is a need for the leading political-ideological force of society to clarify more comprehensively and profoundly the objective nature and principal features of production relations in which the system of associated labor can come into being and develop properly. The League of Communists can become this today, since the experience it has gained in practice affords that and indeed even makes it imperative.

The most essential thing is for the mutual relations of the workers in the production process to be based on their equality in the disposition and management of the means of production, which is possible only by precluding any and anyone's disposition of resources which are socially owned on the basis of legal ownership and prevention of unconstitutional and unlawful usurpation of the self-management rights of the workers in whatever form. Assuming that initial premise, the workers can take direct command of the resources for social reproduction and achieve a social status that in principle is equal, except that between them there remain only those differences in material rights and satisfaction of their needs which arise out of differences in their contribution to current labor and to management of the resources of society.

If those relations are to be successfully achieved, general public acts must regulate the mutual rights, obligations and responsibilities of the workers in the production process and especially in their disposition and management of resources for social reproduction. That relationship of the workers toward the socially owned means of production is actually their relationship toward the past labor of workers, and it is therefore a very important aspect of the mutual relations, rights, duties and responsibilities of workers in production.

Neither that nor any other aspect of those relations can be left to arbitrariness, nor can production relations in which the system of associated labor would develop come about spontaneously. Production relations of that kind can be the fruit only of conscious revolutionary action of the working class and all the socialist forces, but based on a good clarification and understanding of the essence of those relations and on the objective conditions and laws of their emergence and development.

We are creating the system of associated labor under historical conditions of the objective necessity of the commodity mode of production. To respect the legitimacy of commodity production by associated labor in all its organically related and interdependent form is an essential condition for successful economic activity and development of the system of associated labor itself. Even in our system the socially owned means of production exist not only in physical form, but also in commodity form and money form, which gives them the character of social capital, with its laws of movement, and the workers in associated labor, who dispose of and manage it, must--in their own interest and the general interest of society--respect those laws.

#### Appropriate Organization of Associated Labor

Those are the reasons why one of the most essential conditions for the system of associated labor, as our constitution states--the obligation of the workers in associated labor to constantly renew, augment and advance the socially owned resources with which they work, in their common interest and in the general interest of society--can be truly brought about only in the economic form of augmenting social capital. But--by contrast with capitalism, in which capital, as the private property of the capitalist, is alienated from the workers and set in opposition to their interests, while the reproduction of capital becomes an end in itself, aside from and in opposition to the needs and interests of the workers--in the system of associated labor, insofar as the workers dispose of and manage social capital, neither it nor its movement are alienated from them. That is why the augmentation of social capital becomes even in associated labor a necessity and an economic law, but it ceases to be only an end in itself, but it continues to be an unavoidable means for optimum development of the productive forces and society and for satisfying the needs of the working people.

So long as work is a condition of human existence, the necessity (and contradictoriness) is given of a certain attitude toward the necessary labor with which the direct personal, community and general social needs of people are satisfied, on the one hand, and the surplus of social labor whereby development of the productive forces on an expanded scale is guaranteed on the other.

That is why in distribution of the social product the proper relationship must be guaranteed between direct consumption and accumulation and also among the various forms of direct consumption (personal, social service and government) in proportions which will have an optimum impact for development of the productive forces, output and labor productivity.

The workers in associated labor and all other economic and social entities should be instilled with material motivation not only for the largest possible accumulation of social capital, but also for its most optimum use in production and especially in investment policy and consumption. Satisfaction of the workers' personal needs and needs for social services and government should be strictly contingent upon their actual contribution of work, and they must thereby be stimulated and materially motivated and interested to constantly develop their work abilities and raise the productivity of their own labor and the labor of society.

The relationship of the workers to the resources for social reproduction should guarantee optimum utilization of those resources, optimum and economically profitable management of those resources, maximum conservation of materials, energy and work time, and as a result the most successful possible renewal, augmentation and advancement of social resources on the basis of the accumulation of social capital which is brought about. The real production relations and real relations in distribution of the social product should instill in the workers the material motivation to strive for those results through their own labor and through management of the resources of society.

Achievement of the economically necessary and proper relations between direct consumption and accumulation is at the same time the key problem in the relationship between personal and social appropriation. Solutions to these problems cannot be left to subjective arbitrariness, nor to autonomous assessments and decisions of individual organizations of associated labor, but rather basic, general and binding social criteria for distribution must be established. Otherwise not only will the reproductive capability of the economy be undermined, but the spheres of personal and social appropriation will remain insufficiently delineated and unfavorably dealt with, with all the dangers of various forms of privatization and group appropriation of a portion of the social resources for reproduction. Such things threaten social ownership as the basis of the system of associated labor and socialist self-management, and in and of themselves--as privatization of even a negligible portion of social capital--they constitute a factor for social stratification in our society and indeed even among workers in associated labor.

Consistent regulation of basic socioeconomic relations by establishing clear solutions in the system and appropriate bases and scales for the realization of personal incomes is a condition for achieving socialist distribution according to labor, which is an indicator of achievement of socialist production relations. The share of individuals in distribution of resources for personal consumption should depend exclusively on their labor and should be in proportion to their personal contribution to current and past labor. At the same time, but organically related, the distribution of the gross social product should be governed by the criteria of the social utility of labor, which means that the distribution of resources for expansion of the material basis of operation, and thereby the division of labor itself, should take place in social plans in accordance with the law of value and other economic laws governing movement of resources for expanded reproduction under the conditions of commodity production.

Mastery of the totality of income and resources for social reproduction of the workers in the context of social ownership, commodity production and self-management planning will also facilitate broader activity to pool labor and capital on the foundations of joint earning of income. The principal condition for development of relations of this kind is above all the full oversight of the workers in the basic organization of associated labor over income, the necessary material basis for the pooling of labor and capital with other organizations, objective criteria and scales for the distribution of joint income, effective protection of the rights of organizations investing their labor and resources in other organizations, using instruments of the economic system and

measures of economic policy to stimulate the desired processes of pooling labor and capital in conformity with the country's joint development policy and the appropriate contribution of economic chambers, banks and other financial institutions as organizers of the process of pooling labor and capital. Further stimulation of the process of pooling labor and capital presupposes a corresponding economic motivation, which it is difficult to achieve without sufficient affirmation of real economic categories, a real rate of interest, the right to revalue the capital that has been pooled, and other elements which guarantee security and real economic interest.

One of the essential prerequisites of achieving the constitutional rights of the workers in disposition of income and resources for social reproduction is the appropriate organization of associated labor in basic and other organizations of associated labor and advancement of decisionmaking in sociopolitical communities on the delegate principle, the opportunity being given to the workers to determine the flows of social reproduction within the framework of the opstinas, the republics, the provinces and the country as a whole.

All of the Areas Where the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor Are Not Being Applied

Conditions in which the workers are not making decisions to a dominant extent concerning the flows of social reproduction and especially expanded reproduction are certainly an important hindrance to achieving self-management organization of associated labor pursuant to the principles of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

However, shortcomings in the present practice of the organization of self-management have for their own part helped to prevent the necessary exercise of the workers of their constitutional right and responsibility to make decisions concerning income and resources for social reproduction.

The constitutional provisions and the provisions of the Law on Associated Labor which are in effect are being inappropriately applied in present practice, above all in the following areas:

- i. in some places they have gone too far in establishing basic organizations of associated labor even where the conditions do not exist for that, which is accompanied by the strong presence of tendencies toward shutting off the basic organizations of associated labor and actually turning them into small enterprises, which on the one hand prevented the workers in those basic organizations from making decisions about broader flows of social reproduction and relations in society, while on the other it led to inefficient economic activity and separation of the parts of associated labor from one another;

- ii. work organizations have not developed sufficiently as independent entities in commodity trade through which the working people in basic organizations of associated labor realize their interests on the unified Yugoslav market, on which they cannot appear independently, outside the work organization, and in that sense there has been a lack of the appropriate responsibility of the bodies of self-management and professional management of work organizations, and that has had an unfavorable impact on efficiency in the conduct of



business and on self-management of the workers in basic organizations of associated labor and at all other levels;

iii. the broader forms of the self-management organization of complex organizations of associated labor, business communities and other communities and of the broader linkage and pooling of labor consistent with the interests of the workers in basic organizations and work organizations have been especially underdeveloped;

iv. one of the essential issues that has not been resolved is the status of work communities within organizations of associated labor, the equal rights of the working people in those communities, and their responsibility for performing tasks whereby they contribute to creating value, regardless of what activity is involved;

v. one particular problem is the self-management organization in the efforts of domestic organizations of associated labor on the foreign market in the direction of a more organized effort, regulation of the relations of domestic organizations in that joint effort, and especially their relations with foreign trading partners, objectified criteria for distribution of joint income, and examination of the business operation of organizations established abroad.

#### What Is Looked For

Serious shortcomings have been noted in development so far with respect to achieving the principle of free exchange of labor and in self-management decisionmaking concerning social resources in the social services and their optimum use. Insufficiently coordinated activity of subjective factors is not the only reason for this, and another is the inappropriate normative elaboration of the constitutional concept of the self-managing communities of interest, especially by the republics and provinces, the exaggerated and interventionist role of the government and the inadequate efforts in the social service organizations of associated labor themselves in the direction of improving the organization of work and the self-management pooling of resources which they dispose of, above all in the direction of stimulating productive labor and optimum utilization of the available resources.

The most important tasks in achieving the self-management status of the workers in associated labor are the following in the sector of the social services: consistent realization of the constitutional concept concerning basic organizations of associated labor and local communities; overcoming the continuing presence of the government as an intermediary in this sector; establishing joint needs through self-management and self-management decisionmaking concerning resources for meeting them, above all by affirming the system of self-management planning in this sector as the basis for pooling labor and capital in the direction of satisfying joint needs; consistent implementation of the principle of gross personal income, that is, decisionmaking of the workers concerning the entirety of income, including resources for expanded reproduction in the social services; implementation of the principle of solidarity and reciprocity in the social services consistent with socially established needs and objective capabilities.

One of the urgent tasks in this sector is above all to prevent the considerable resources for financing the social services through self-managing communities of interest from being appropriated from the resources of associated labor and mobilized even when they are not used directly in the social services and also in a volume which is over and above the limits agreed on. Self-managing communities of interest should to a greater degree become an intermediary in relations between those who use and those who render the services, an organizer of transactions, not the dispersing agency for resources.

There is a need to reexamine the justifiability of the numerous and unnecessary staff services of self-managing communities of interest, which spend a large amount of resources which were set aside to meet community needs, reducing their volume to what is indispensable and has been agreed to.

This draft of positions to be adopted by the LCY Central Committee, which pertains to the main urgent issues which are outstanding in the development of the socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management has been drafted on the critical assessments set forth, the fundamental ideological and political commitments of the LCY, as well as the most recent knowledge gained on the basis of practical experience in the effort to achieve those commitments and especially the constitutional status, rights, obligations and responsibilities of the workers in associated labor.

The changes proposed in socioeconomic relations would achieve the following principal effects:

- i. determination and accurate bookkeeping of real production costs and business costs would be made possible, including also resources for reproduction of manpower; that would also create the basis for real determination of economic performance, the result of business operation with social resources within organizations of associated labor, and it would make it possible to establish proper ratios between consumption and accumulation as well as between the personal and social appropriation of the workers;
- ii. it would become possible for the workers to dispose of resources for expanded reproduction, whereby those resources would be furnished on the basis of economic laws; that is, if the resources for expanded reproduction are to be available, they first have to be created and set aside specifically and exclusively for the purpose of expanded reproduction, but on the basis of objective economic criteria; resources for expanded reproduction are objectively determined by the resources for simple reproduction, that is, only after the resources for simple reproduction have been determined and set aside is it possible to accurately determine what the resources for expanded reproduction objectively represent; that is why it is extremely important to accurately determine in the production process the real material costs as well as the costs of reproduction of manpower, which taken together constitute the resources for simple reproduction;
- iii. the workers would be motivated to make a maximum effort at their work station, since by achieving a good output in their work they will also be able to earn well, with a certainty that no one, for whatever reason, can take away



the value of their labor and the real accomplishment of their labor; and conversely, it would not be possible for the personal income to depend more on the organization in which one works and less on the quantity and quality of labor; an intolerable spread could not be formed in personal incomes for approximately the same work, and still less would it be possible to perpetuate cases in which unskilled work can carry a higher value in one place than highly skilled work in another, and in that way personal incomes would be formed on the principles of distribution according to work, which at present are now seriously violated;

iv. the workers would have a personal material interest in making an effort for optimum use of social resources, for maximum utilization of work time, for the lowest possible production costs and the largest possible labor productivity so as to achieve income which would make it possible to raise personal incomes and personal consumption, while at the same time setting aside more accumulation according to the invested resources of social capital;

v. the workers, including the professional management and work communities of administrative and technical staff services, would be motivated to use the accumulation set aside so as to afford the largest possible income and a steady growth of social capital which they possess; the workers would thereby become a strong factor for the most optimum and profitable flows in the pooling of labor and capital in their direct interest and in the general interest of society; the decisive prerequisite would be created for a successful fight against all cases of exclusiveness and absurd disintegrative tendencies in our economy;

vi. the workers would be motivated to constantly and vigilantly monitor the real results from pooling labor and capital as well as the overall results of the economy and of economic development, which will make them more and more a conscious factor in overall social reproduction and the functioning of the entirety of associated labor and will strengthen socialist self-management; that is at the same time the right way and the best way for them to also take control of such associations in associated labor as the economic chambers and the banks;

vii. the workers would be motivated to monitor all flows of income and to participate authentically in decisionmaking concerning those flows, including decisions within self-managing communities of interest and the bodies of sociopolitical communities, which has essential importance to the invigoration and more successful functioning of the political system of socialist self-management;

viii. in the context of the relations of distribution of the social product, the problem in opposition of relations between direct consumption and accumulation would be resolved on self-management foundations, as an exclusive function of the workers in associated labor, on sound economic foundations in conformity with objective necessities and economic laws, but in the authentic immediate and long-term interest of the workers; neither the personal consumption of the workers nor accumulation would be reduced to residual items, but they would be manifested in the right way, and their organic linkage and mutual

dependence would be respected; the workers in associated labor would thereby be successful in exercising their constitutional rights and discharging their constitutional duties and responsibilities in the disposition and management of resources for social reproduction, and the working class would more and more become the ruling force of society in its own right. (Headings supplied by the editors)

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